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8 November 1983

# West Europe Report

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## NEW SIPRI BOOK IN ENGLISH ON 'ZONE' ISSUE REVIEWED

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 14 Oct 83 p 28

[Article by Harald Hamrin]

[Text] The prospects for implementation of a Nordic nuclear-free zone depend largely on the commitments and sacrifices the two superpowers are willing to make. But that does not mean that the Nordic countries should allow the superpowers to dictate the terms for a zone agreement and thus acquire improper influence over the policies of the Nordic countries.

That is how Norwegian researcher Sverre Lodgaard introduced a new book issued Thursday by the international peace research institute, SIPRI [Stockholm International Peace Research Institute], outside Stockholm.

In the book, "Nuclear Disengagement in Europe," a number of authors discuss the conditions needed for nuclear-free zones in the Nordic and Balkan regions and for a corridor free of tactical nuclear weapons in central Europe.

A central issue discussed by several of the almost 20 authors concerns the so-called diminished zone which occurs in the debate on a potential Nordic nuclear-free zone. The idea is that the Soviet Union should withdraw from the western periphery of its own territory those nuclear weapons that due to their location and relatively short range can be assumed to be aimed solely at Nordic targets.

The proposal for such a diminished Soviet zone has been presented as a kind of Soviet "counter offer" to balance the NATO pledge not to deploy American nuclear weapons in Norway and Denmark in the event of war.

Sverre Lodgaard, one of the two people primarily responsible for the new SIPRI book, goes so far in his section as to state that the prospects for a Nordic zone "largely" depend on the chances of limiting the superpowers' nuclear weapons in adjacent areas /outside/ [in boldface] the actual zones.

Stated in more extreme terms, this means that the decision on a Nordic zone must be made or scuttled as much in Moscow and Washington as in the capitals of the Nordic lands.

## Warning

But this also creates a risk that the two superpowers will have a direct opportunity to exert a decisive influence over the policies of the Nordic countries.

"The Nordic states must make sure that a conference on a Nordic nuclear-free zone is not turned into a 'Nordic Yalta,'" Lodgaard writes.

Lodgaard refers in this part of the book to Associate Professor Jan Prawitz of the Defense Ministry, who in his contribution to the SIPRI book uses even more warning language. According to Prawitz, a "formula" for a Nordic zone must indeed be negotiated by the Nordic states and the states that have nuclear weapons. But the "physical content" of an agreement, in other words concrete rules banning various types of nuclear weapons, "must therefore be agreed on first and foremost by the two military alliances in Europe or, more precisely, the superpowers."

"This situation involves a risk that the superpowers, regardless of the formal procedures, might negotiate an agreement that...could result in a Nordic Yalta," Prawitz writes.

Despite these recurrent words of warning, the basic tone in the SIPRI book is positive on the issue of a Nordic zone as well as a Balkan nuclear-free zone and a "corridor" free of tactical nuclear weapons in central Europe.

Such zones and corridors should raise the "nuclear threshold," serve as confidence-inspiring measures and contribute to detente.

In a separate chapter in the SIPRI book, which is undoubtedly one of the most extensive contributions so far to the debate on nuclear-free zones, the Swedish arms reduction ambassador in Geneva, Rolf Ekeus, also writes about the details in the diplomatic process that in his view should be pursued to arrive at an agreement on a Nordic zone.

There is a long list of no less than 11 steps that should be taken before the superpowers are even formally involved in the process.

Ambassador Ekeus was part of the special committee within the Swedish Foreign Ministry that during the winter and spring prepared a Swedish action program for the Nordic zone. Thus his "11-point program" in the SIPRI book probably largely reflects the results of the Foreign Ministry group's work on this point, work that has otherwise been surrounded by great secrecy.

6578

CSO: 3650/12

## PAPER COMMENTS ON MOVEMENT TO REMOVE DENMARK FROM EC

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 26 Sep 83 p 10

[Editorial: "Opponents"]

[Text] The People's Movement Against the EC is not a people's movement. It has many people behind it, but it does not embrace the people. It is not a party either, but it acts as if it were a party. The movement let it be known at a meeting last Sunday that it is planning a strategy for the upcoming elections, as if it were an actual party. When it acts in this manner, however, it loses its credibility as a people's movement.

The movement celebrated a victory in 1979. It received almost as many votes as the Social Democrats and, because of the voting regulations, it received four seats, while only three went to the Social Democrats. It was a catastrophic election for Anker Jorgensen and he admitted defeat. He blamed it on the split over the party's European policy, which has been significant since the referendum on Danish membership, and on a lack of ability to conduct a convincing election campaign. This time it will be different. This was the message from the Social Democratic Party Congress, but it is undeniable that the list of candidates the Social Democrats have chosen does not seem convincing. On the basis of this weakness, the People's Movement has proclaimed that the Social Democrats are not their main opponents. Movement strategists apparently believe that Anker Jorgensen will be unable to create a European policy that will result in a strong campaign. If they leave the Social Democrats alone, it will be easier for them to win over the weak of heart to the People's Movement.

The People's Movement sees the Conservative Party, the Liberal Party, and the Center-Democratic Party as its main opponents. These parties will be the target of their campaign. The official reason is that the EC opponents believe these parties want to lead Denmark into a European union. It is not that simple, however, but it is true that these parties want a stronger European policy. At the Liberal Party Congress Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said that the EC had been stagnating for a long time and that an effort must be made to reactivate it. The real reason these parties have been pointed out as the primary opponents, however, is that the People's Movement cannot expect to capture many votes from these parties in any event.

The People's Movement Against the EC must build primarily on the leftist elements of our society. This is one reason the Communists are not running as a party, but are working within the People's Movement. If the movement can gather the forces left of center--and capture many Social Democratic EC opponents--it will have a much better chance of winning votes.

9336

CSO: 3613/16

## POLL REVEALS OPPOSITION TO EC MEMBERSHIP IS STILL GREAT

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 1 Oct 83 p 5

[Article by Asger Schultz]

[Text] The Gallup Institute conducts regular surveys that reflect the attitude of the Danish people to our membership in the Common Market. A poll was taken in December last year and repeated this past September.

A representative sampling of the population, about 1,000 respondents, was asked the following question:

"If you could vote today on the European Economic Community, would you vote for or against Danish membership?"

The table below shows the results of the most recent survey and, by way of comparison, results from the previous surveys, back to the referendum in October 1972.

		For, %	Against, %	Undecided %	Total, %
2 October	1972	57	33	10	100
February	1973	51	37	12	100
May	1973	46	43	11	100
October	1973	42	43	15	100
March	1974	42	42	16	100
May	1974	38	43	19	100
August	1974	31	53	16	100
October	1974	37	45	18	100
April	1975	40	41	19	100
August	1975	45	41	14	100
March	1976	40	43	17	100
May	1977	39	43	18	100
April	1978	40	37	23	100
February	1979	38	40	22	100
26-30 May	1979	33	48	19	100
December	1979	31	39	30	100
May	1980	36	43	21	100
December	1980	33	48	19	100
May	1981	35	46	19	100
March	1982	35	42	23	100
December	1982	35	48	17	100
September	1983	31	43	26	100

Less than one third of the Danish voters (31 percent) support Danish membership. This is the lowest figure since the referendum in 1972. The greatest support was found among Liberal Party voters (63 percent) and Conservative Party voters (53 percent). The greatest opposition was found in the Left-Socialist Party (93 percent), the Communist Party (89 percent), and the Socialist People's Party (85 percent).

Since the demand for Denmark to withdraw from the EC is heard more and more often, the following question was asked:

"If you could vote on Denmark's withdrawal from the EC, would you vote for or against withdrawal?"

The results are shown below:

	%
For withdrawal	39
Against withdrawal	36
Undecided	25
Total	100

Thus, there is not a majority in favor of a Danish withdrawal, but a plurality supports withdrawal, so that there is a majority of those participating in this "referendum" favoring withdrawal by Denmark.

May be reprinted only if BERLINGSKE TIDENDE and the Gallup Institute are indicated as sources.

9336

CSO: 3613/16

## CONSERVATIVES CONTINUE POLL GAINS AS ELECTION FEVER MOUNTS

## Many in Party Want Election

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 6 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Erik Meier Carlsen]

[Text] Powerful forces within the Conservative Party hope to call for new elections in late October.

It is primarily the need to reach a decision on the NATO missiles later this year that has forced chief Conservative strategist Justice Minister Erik Ninn-Hansen to try and make the government call for new elections, while forcing the Radical Liberals to accept the present four-party coalition.

On Tuesday the Radical Liberals presented a bill in parliament that would extend maternity leave. The plan would be financed by an additional increase in the taxpayers' contribution to the health insurance fund. The government has already proposed that the healthcare tax be increased from 1 to 1.85 percent. The Radical Liberals have proposed an additional increase to 1.95 percent. This would generate an additional 300 million kroner, which could finance the extended maternity leave.

INFORMATION learned that, according to Ninn-Hansen's plan, the government would accept the plan of the Radical Liberals. If this occurs, they can almost certainly count on opposition from the Progressive Party and the Social Democrats in a vote on increased healthcare taxes in parliament during the last week of October.

If the government succeeds with this plan, it could avoid a confrontation over the missiles for the time being. If a new election were announced, such a confrontation would almost certainly prevent the Radical Liberals from supporting Schluter again after the elections.

## Fear Of Elections

The problem for the government is that neither the Radical Liberals, the Social Democrats, nor the small government parties want a new election now.

Thus, it may be expected that the Radical Liberals will go a long way toward

making real concessions to the Social Democrats' demands for a compromise. The Radical Liberals can do this because they hold the balance in parliament.

As reported in INFORMATION on Tuesday, in return for supporting the government's proposed increase in healthcare taxes, the Social Democrats are demanding that the party be given concessions on the so-called restoration demands, i.e. qualifying days for sick benefits, the public assistance law, and the regulation of benefits and that the government abandon its proposal for additional changes in the payment of benefits.

The Social Democrats have the support of the Radical Liberals on most of these demands. For several weeks the Radical Liberals have been negotiating with Social Affairs Minister Palle Simonsen to change the 9-month rule, which limits the availability of "temporary assistance" to welfare recipients. INFORMATION also learned that there were detailed consultations between the Social Democrats and the Radical Liberals before the Social Democrats presented their proposal to parliament on Tuesday calling for the elimination of the 9-month rule.

INFORMATION was told that, in the near future, the Radical Liberals also will present a statement, in no uncertain terms, opposing the government's proposed changes in benefits. In this way, the Radical Liberals hope to show the Social Democrats that there is a majority in parliament supporting the Social Democrats' preconditions for supporting the proposed increase in healthcare taxes, which parliament will vote on in late October.

The question will be, however, whether or not this will be enough to convince the major opposition party to vote for increased healthcare taxes without a direct settlement with the government.

#### Support Of Radical Liberals

Leading government strategists believe it would be desirable to call for new elections on an economic issue, in clear alliance with the Radical Liberals. The maternity leave proposal the government presented yesterday was called the domestic issue of highest priority by the national congress of the Radical Liberal Party--contrary to the original position of the party leadership. By coupling this with an increase in the healthcare tax, the Radical Liberals have focused attention on the proposal. At the same time, the government was given the opportunity to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Radical Liberals against the rest of parliament. In this way, Schluter is almost 100-percent certain to be reelected for another 4-year term.

## Conservatives Would Almost Double Seats

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 2 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Lisbeth Knudsen]

[Text] The Social Democrats would be unable to create a majority along with SF (Socialist People's Party) and the Radical Liberals if elections were held today. The two smallest parties in parliament, the Christian People's Party and VS (Left Socialist Party) would lose all their seats in parliament.

### Government Close To Own Majority

The government parties, together with the Progressive Party, are close to having a majority, but still would need help from the Radical Liberals or the Social Democrats.

This was shown by the Gallup Poll taken in September. While the major advances made among voters by the Conservative Party declined somewhat in August, in September support for the party increased. It would have received 48 seats in parliament, compared to the 28 seats it now holds. The Liberal Party, which advanced in the August poll, now has the same support it received in the 1981 elections. CD (Center-Democratic Party) would have its seats reduced almost by half, from 15 to 9, if elections were held now.

### Social Democrats And SF Unchanged

The Social Democrats and SF remained unchanged in the latest poll, compared to the poll taken in August. The Progressive Party, on the other hand, suffered the same defeat as CD, dropping from 15 seats in the 1981 elections to 9 seats in the latest poll.

The North Atlantic members of parliament, from Greenland and the Faeroe Islands, could decide a number of political questions if parliament received the composition indicated in the Gallup Poll. The Social Democrats, the Socialist People's Party, and the Radical Liberals together would receive 88 seats, thereby falling slightly short of a majority. The four-party coalition, together with FRP (Progressive Party) would receive 87 seats and, as they do now, they would seek help from another party to gain a majority. The distribution of seats in parliament, according to the Gallup Poll, is presented below. The members from the Faeroe Islands and Greenland are not included.

Distribution of Seats:	Gallup	Present distribution
Social Democratic Party	60	59
Radical Liberal Party	7	9
Conservative Party	48	26
Socialist People's Party	21	21
Center-Democratic Party	9	15
Liberal Party	21	20

Progressive Party	9	12
Christian People's Party	0	4
Left Socialist Party	0	5
Independents	0	4

#### Political Barometer

Survey taken 10 September to 18 September 1983

Question: What party would you vote for if parliamentary elections were held tomorrow?

	8 Dec 81, %	March 83, %	April 83, %	Aug 83, %	Sep 83, %
Social Democrats	32.9	32.1	32.2	32.2	32.2
Radical Liberals	5.1	3.9	3.5	3.0	3.5
Conservatives	14.5	27.4	25.9	24.9	25.4
Justice Party	1.4	-	-	-	-
Socialist People's Party	11.3	9.8	9.8	11.4	11.4
International Socialist					
Labor party	0.1	-	-	-	-
Communist Party	1.1	-	-	-	-
Center-Democratic Party	8.3	5.4	4.4	4.4	4.8
Christian People's Party	2.3	2.3	-	2.2	-
Communist Workers' Party	0.1	-	-	-	-
Liberal Party	11.3	10.0	12.2	12.2	11.3
Left-Socialist Party	2.7	-	2.7	2.0	2.3
Progressive Party	8.9	4.0	6.0	5.7	4.8
Other parties*	-	2.4	3.3	1.7	6.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\*Parties with less than 2 percent of the vote.

May be reproduced only if Gallup and BERLINGSKE TIDENDE are indicated as sources.

9336

CS0: 3613/21

## HOME RULE GOVERNMENT CAUGHT BETWEEN RADICALS, DENMARK

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 28 Sep 83 p 1

[Editorial by emc: "Greenlandic Conflict"]

[Text] Many Danes, wise after the fact, are sitting today and gloating while a labor conflict "en miniature" is paralysing Greenland's society.

It is good to know that the short eskimos are no better than we are.

They haven't even, like the majority of the Danish people, been included in Schluter's tour. They have a government, which in the good old days called itself social democratic (well, O.K., the truth is they constantly seek admission to the Socialist International).

Naturally it is a real pleasure for reactionary Danish politicians like, for example, our Greenland minister, Tom Hoyem, to threaten the home rule government with either stepping in against cost-of-living adjustments or being cut considerably in block subsidies from the Danish government.

That's a pretty kettle of fish.

"You made your dirty bed, and who will sing you lullabies now?" as the late Brecht wrote.

If one follows the basic reasoning of Greenland's governing party, Siumut, this conflict does not look like a local one at all. In the offices of the home rule government, it looks today like the effort of a Greenland worker organization to maintain wage differences between sent-out Danish workers and Greenland workers. Deep inside the Danish labor movement there is today an understanding that the effect of the cost-of-living adjustment was antisocial. Even after it was changed from threshold payments as percentages of the wage to equal portions in absolute figures.

The Greenland Workers' Organization (SIK) must see itself surrounded today by sent-out Danes like, for example, the highly paid Danish editor in chief of Greenland's dominating newspaper, UGEBLADET, Inc., who, in a lead article, advises SIK to stand fast in its cost-of-living demand and at the same time mobilizes the Danish Journalist Union.

Opposed stands a home rule government that will be limited in its ability to negotiate if existing agreements are used to maintain wage differences in Greenland.

In SIK's favor is the fact that the home rule government -- the governing party, Siumut, that is -- did not dare deal with this point in last year's election. In sharp opposition to the far left wing, Inuit Ataqatigiit, Siumut chose to act as if there were no difference between the interests of the home rule government and those of SIK. But the differences are there, naturally. If one accepts the fact that resources are limited -- and they are, no matter whether the prime minister is called Schluter or Jorgensen -- then SIK's demand implies a serious limitation on the home rule government's ability to work for Greenland's independence.

For the moment, the home rule government is consoling itself with the idea that SIK seems to be so taken up with the labor conflicts that it has not completely been able to survey the consequences. SIK has introduced a series of special strikes, but SIK has not been able to determine their duration alone. In a secret opening move, SIK offered the home rule government unchanged agreements. This would mean total cost-of-living adjustments and nothing else. The home rule government said no to this.

But under the special ground rules in Greenland for labor conflicts, SIK, with its insistence on this point, is about to free the home rule government and the Danish government from existing agreements.

This kind of sharp practice will naturally not settle the Greenland labor dispute. But since interference from the Danish government won't do it, either, what then?

Unfortunately, it is not for us to give good advice.

But perhaps we can point to the Danish union dilemma, which was expressed in the recent meeting of the Semi-Skilled Workers' Union (SiD), in which one saw a majority of workers fight for physicians' threshold payments against their own party's program.

One does not overcome this paradox by insisting that workers are idiots who don't know their own best interests. One must rather face the fact that before the SiD congress can liberate itself from the unfortunate alliance with the physicians, and before SIK can liberate itself from the embrace of the editor in chief of A.G., it is necessary for the respective workers' organizations and parties to decide to transform their respective communities.

9124

CSO: 3613/22

POLITICAL

DENMARK/GREENLAND

CIVIL SERVANTS GO ON STRIKE TO PROTEST AUSTERITY BUDGET

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 28 Sep 83 p 1

[Excerpts] "The state can regulate prices in Greenland through the Royal Greenland Commerce Organization. Therefore it is not the wage earners who are increasing inflation, and this, among other things, is why we don't agree to the removal of automatic cost-of-living adjustments."

This is how Avva Mathiassen, the deputy chairman of the Greenland Workers' Union (SIK), justified the selective strike that began in Greenland Wednesday after negotiations with the Public Mediation Office (DOA) broke down.

The strike, which involves a total of 1,200 SIK members, stops work every other day in a series of selected day care centers, community offices, and, beginning Tuesday, in the home rule's information publishing house. Here the Typographical Union will strike in sympathy with SIK.

9124

CSO: 3613/22

## POPULATION STUDY SHOWS NATIVE-BORN SHARE ON INCREASE

Godthaab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 21 Sep 83 p 34

[Text] Since 1980, the population of Greenland has risen 1.2 percent a year. It is that part of the population that was born in Greenland. If we include persons born outside of Greenland, the rise is lower for 1982, because the number of persons born outside of Greenland fell in 1982. This is shown in statistics on population worked out by the Statistical Office in the Ministry for Greenland.

The same statistics also show that in 1982 there was a population fall in Nanortalik, Qeqertarsuaq, and Qasigiannguut, as well as in Ivittuut.

Altogether there was a population increase in 1981 and 1982 of 792 and 468 persons. The total population in Greenland on 1 January 1983 was therefore up to 51,903. It is on the way up again after a stagnation and fall in the years after 1975. Thus the total population did not reach the 1975 figure until 1980. The reason was that many persons born outside of Greenland left the country in the years after 1974.

From 1975 to 1978 there was a drop in persons born outside of Greenland of almost 1,000 persons. Since 1979 there has again been a rise, which, however, still did not bring the population up to the 1975 level. In 1982 there was again a small drop of 45 persons.

Most of the years have brought an increase in the Greenland population. The rise was quite modest in the 1970's. Not until 1980 did it get up over 500 persons, the level it held in 1981 and 1982 (with respectively 697 and 513 persons corresponding to a rise of 1.7 percent and 1.2 percent).

There are two causes of the strong rise. First, a higher birthrate, because women from the large years around 1960 have reached child-bearing age.

Second, the net emigration of Greenland-born persons has declined in recent years. The reason for this, perhaps, is that more young people can receive their education in Greenland.

## BRIEFS

ALMOST HALF OF POPULATION UNDER TWENTY--Of Greenland's total population of 51,903 persons, about 18 percent were born outside of Greenland, according to a report from Denmark's Statistics and Ministry for Greenland. The Greenland-born population is quite young with a good 44 percent under 20, while the group of those not born in Greenland is dominated by the 20 to 64 age group. [Text] [Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 2 Oct 83 p 2] 9124

CSO: 3613/22

## INTERVIEW WITH COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY GENERAL CUNHAL

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 23-29 Sep 83 pp 8-9

[Text of PCP Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal's responses to a written questionnaire authored by Caceres Monteiro and Rogerio Rodrigues]

[Text] "The government is directing its action with a blind partisan sectarianism and a crude anticommunism. It uses the most slanderous inventions and accusations against the opposition. It is obvious that, when it considers an intelligence service, its intention is to set up espionage and political 'vigilance,' and to fabricate 'dossiers' to combat the opposition forces." This statement was made by the PCP [Portuguese Communist Party] secretary general, Dr Alvaro Cunhal, in an interview with O JORNAL, responding to a written questionnaire prepared by Caceres Monteiro and Rogerio Rodrigues.

O JORNAL: Dr Alvaro Cunhal, in your recent speech at the AVANTE! celebration, you identified the present government with the continuation of the political line of the AD [Democratic Alliance] government. Do you really believe that there is no difference between the essence and style of governing of the previous government and this one?

Alvaro Cunhal: To date no one (not even the PS [Socialist Party] and PSD [Social Democratic Party] leaders) has been able to cite, in any essential respect, a basic difference between the policy of the PS/PSD government and the policy of the "AD" government: A cruel worsening of the living conditions of the workers and of the Portuguese people as a whole; sellout of goods, resources and businesses to big capital; unconstitutional attacks against nationalization and agrarian reform; abuse of liberties and scandalous government and partisan control over the state news media, specifically, of RTP [Portuguese Radio-Television System]; subservience toward imperialists and concessions that are burdensome to our independence. Wherein lies the difference? The PS secretary general, as prime minister, is currently the leader and executor of the essence of "AD" policy. This is a reality that subjective assessments cannot change.

[Question] You say that "Mario Soares is a politician of big capital today." Doesn't this claim seem exaggerated to you?

[Answer] The statement is completely accurate. Politicians define themselves not by the names of the parties to which they belong, but rather by the class nature

of the policy that they uphold and practice. The policy of the present government headed by Dr Mario Soares is a policy of big capital. Its goal is the restoration of the financial capital and of the monopolistic groups which the Portuguese revolution ended. The praise that the big capitalists give to it confirms whose service it is in and the policy that it is directing.

There Are Some Who 'Watch' and Some Who 'Listen'

[Question] Dr Alvaro Cunhal has criticized the establishment of the "Intelligence Service of the Republic." Do you think that an intelligence service is unnecessary in our country? At the present time, does Dr Alvaro Cunhal and does the PCP feel that they are being watched?

[Answer] The Portuguese democratic state does not need any intelligence service other than a service (preferably military) associated with external security and (correctly organized) information services of the criminal investigation police.

The government is directing its action with a blind partisan sectarianism and a crude anti-communism. It uses the most slanderous inventions and accusations against the opposition. It is obvious that, when it considers an intelligence service, its intention is to set up espionage and political "vigilance," and to fabricate "dossiers" to combat the opposition forces. We have observed the recent experience of the "intelligence" and the "services" of former PPD [Popular Democratic Party] Minister Angelo Correia, of whom PS Minister Eduardo Pereira apparently wishes to be a worthy successor.

As for "vigilance," they have already started activities that are unacceptable in a democratic regime. For example: certain telephone interruptions (sometimes quite direct) have disclosed that "bugs" have been set up. There is a good subject for investigation: who is doing and who has ordered that bugging?

The Government's Policy Is Not One of Austerity

[Question] Won't rather harsh austerity measures be necessary to put the Portuguese economy on a sound footing? Can the country continue to spend as much as it has thus far? Don't you agree with measures such as those adopted last week, affecting the consumption by the more advantaged classes, such as those affecting "night clubs," automobiles and travel abroad?

[Answer] PCP was the only major party to propose a policy of austerity. At our party's national conference held in June 1977, the economic and financial situation was thoroughly analyzed, solutions for emerging from the crisis were indicated and it was proven possible to produce more, to import less and to save vast sums (spent on unnecessary expenditures, luxury items and waste), without having this mean a worsening of the people's living conditions.

What we are witnessing on the part of the PS/PSD government has nothing to do with a national policy of austerity. It involves a genuine social war launched against the workers and the working population as a whole, so that big capital

will increase the exploitation and the profits, and will concentrate all of the country's wealth in its hands.

A policy of austerity does not consist of cutting the workers' consumption and expanding that of the capitalists. It does not even consist of cutting consumption alone. It also entails a policy aimed at increasing production, so as to pave the way for emerging from the crisis. The PS/PSD government is doing exactly the opposite.

As measures "for emerging from the crisis," the government (based upon the IMF's fraudulent demands and insisting on a disastrous entry into the Common Market) has decided on: a cut in domestic production (-0.5 percent), mass layoffs, failure of business firms, a general economic recession and resorting to loans and more loans that will raise the foreign debt and the interest paid abroad to astronomical sums which are increasingly submerging the country in crisis and literally strangling the Portuguese economy and national independence.

The "measures" that it cites have no particular significance other than for demagoguery.

In New Elections PS/PSD Could Cease to Be a Majority

[Question] PCP has announced that it would attempt to overthrow the present government. What does it propose as an alternative, early elections again?

[Answer] The PS/PSD government is a bad government; its policy serves neither the people nor the country. Its day are numbered. If it pursues its policy it is doomed to defeat, and among the factors that will lead to that result is the people's struggle. PCP will struggle with the workers and with the people for a democratic alternative.

Early elections under the current conditions (mid-September 1983) would surely mean a very sizable decline in the PSD and PS votes. It is not to be precluded that they would cease to have a majority in the Assembly of the Republic. But with the PS secretary general's policy of an alliance of the right, such elections would not create a new, effective political majority to serve as backing for a democratic government.

A majority of Communists and Socialists already exists in the Assembly of the Republic; combined, there are 135 deputies out of a total of 250.

Hence, for an institutional democratic solution based on a majority in the Assembly, one of two things will be necessary, as we have already stressed: either a reconversion of PS to a democratic policy, or the creation of new political parties.

However, there are other potential constitutional and institutional solutions that could make it possible to emerge from the stalemate and the disaster to which the PS/PSD government policy is leading the country.

[Question] How would you comment on the long period of time that the president of the republic is taking to give a response to the proposal for discharge of the CEME [Army Chief of Staff]?

[Answer] That is his right. Moreover, "the long period of time" is a response in itself; if not on the essential matter, at least on the operation involved in the case. In any event, it is sufficient to have discouraged an initial offensive arrogance and aggressiveness, perhaps the result of the destabilizing haste and an underestimation of the forces themselves on the part of the PS/PSD government.

#### PCP Backing for Soares: a Question That Has Not Even Come Up

[Question] At the AVANTE! celebration, Dr Cunhal stated: "Portuguese democracy will manage to find its candidate." If there were a supra-party candidacy that PCP could support, would that be preferable to running a candidate of its own? If there is a candidate of its own, will he be an independent or a party militant? In the event of a supra-party candidacy, do you prefer a military or a civilian president? Would PCP see any possibility of backing a presidential candidacy of Mario Soares if terms were established? What type of terms? In principle, would Dr Cunhal approve of the launching of a candidacy backed by General Eanes?

[Answer] You have asked many questions in one. The essential thing is that, in the next presidential elections, it should be possible for a candidate who combines the votes of democrats and patriots to run, so as to win the elections. This means that he must have a large portion of the votes of those who voted in the legislative elections for PS and PCP, and possibly also of voters who voted for the right wing parties. This is what is essential. If President Eanes (in one way or another) backs a democratic candidate, that backing will unquestionably be a major contribution to his victory, inasmuch as the existence of a vast movement of "Eanist" opinion is undeniable (beyond the confines of the parties). Whether or not PCP supports a candidate of its own, and whether the candidate is military or civilian, independent or partisan, are important but not critical questions.

Dr Mario Soares' candidacy must be defined as a candidacy of the right. Despite the internal contradictions, PSD is willing to vote for him. Lucas Pires has also stated that CDS [Social Democratic Center Party] will vote for him, at least in the runoff election. Primarily, the potential candidate, Mario Soares, would typify his candidacy by the policy that he is implementing as prime minister, and that policy is clearly an antidemocratic policy, a policy of the right. Under these conditions, PCP backing for Mario Soares is a question that has not even come up.

#### Discretion Does Not Mean Indifference

[Question] Do you agree with the discretion in which the president of the republic has engaged? Should he have a more active political role; and in which areas, for example?

[Answer] Discretion is a part of the duties of the president of the republic, but discretion does not necessarily mean indifference. There are some who would like to deny that organ of sovereignty the exercise of its authority. In our view it is a good thing for it to be exercised, of course with a stringent upholding of constitutional legality.

We Do Not Consider the Assertion Attributed to Eanes in NEWSWEEK to Be Accurate

[Question] How would Dr Alvaro Cunhal comment on the assertion made by General Eanes to the magazine NEWSWEEK in which he says that PCP in Portugal is a "controlled threat"?

[Answer] At the moment, I am not in a position to check the veracity of the assertion attributed to the president of the republic. If, in fact, he made it, we do not consider it accurate. Not only does PCP not constitute any threat to the democratic regime, but it has been and is a decisive political force in the consolidation, defense and continuance thereof.

PCP Is Not 'Moving' to Create a New Party

[Question] Might the creation of a "new party" have an influence inside PS? Is PCP "moving" for this? And, based upon PCP backing, wouldn't it have an influence?

[Answer] A new party in fact, and not in name, associated with democratic ideas, and with people possessing credibility and ability, would undoubtedly have a great influence inside PS, wherein many members feel disillusioned and duped by the alliance of its secretary general and other leaders with the reactionary parties. PCP is not "moving" for the creation of such a party. Based upon the analysis of the national situation, it is confining itself to stressing the presence of objective conditions for its creation, and expressing the view that such a party, if favorable subjective conditions were to materialize, could gain broad social, political and electoral support and contribute to a change in the party picture and in the lineup of partisan forces.

As for the influence that it might have based on PCP backing, it would be slight. The base of PCP backing is not disillusioned with our party's policy; rather, it is supporting it in an increasingly active way, as was clearly shown by the AVANTE! celebration.

There Are No Problems With 'Succession' in PCP

[Question] The PCP press has indicated the presence of mobilization problems within the party. Are you concerned about those problems? To what are they due? Can a major renewal of structures and cadres be anticipated at the next PCP congress? Will there be an expansion of the Central Committee and of its Political Commission? Is the succession a concern?

[Answer] What was cited in the party press was directly located and sectorial. We still have (and perhaps more than ever) a mobilization capacity that is

incomparably superior to that of any other party. The AVANTE! celebration and its colossal rally clearly demonstrated this. Perhaps for this reason, to conceal from the Portuguese people the remarkable mass support for PCP, the government ordered RTP to censor the news of the festival.

As for the structures, the composition of the agencies and the renewal of cadres in preparation of the 10th Congress, these are issues already being studied, but nothing has been decided yet.

In our party there is no problem with the "succession" of the secretary general. Today, there is one; tomorrow there will be another: owing to death, disability or a replacement of the present one that would be advantageous for the party.

This is not a serious problem in PCP, whose political, ideological, organizational and mass force is a result of collective endeavor and among whose leadership there are no rivalries and personality conflicts, but rather common, fraternal endeavor, the essential incentive for which is the concern and desire to be useful to the people and to the country. PCP is completely equipped to continue its activity and to maintain its unity, its great capacity for intervention in national affairs, its prestige and influence and its decisive role in the defense and continuation of the democratic regime.

#### Mass Unemployment Could Be Avoided

[Question] The government has announced unemployment and the closing of business firms in the coming months. Could the application of drastic measures to put the public enterprises on a sound basis be avoided? Doesn't Dr Cunhal fear that the development of a violent dispute could destabilize social and political activity, resulting in unpredictable consequences, specifically, problems with the military?

[Answer] We consider mass unemployment, bankruptcy and the consecutive closings of business firms not only completely avoidable, but also necessary to avoid.

What the government regards as "drastic measures" is not "putting public enterprises on a sound footing," but rather their complete foundering, the foundering and failure of the nationalized sectors and companies to turn them over to private capital after they have been "put on a sound footing," at the cost of mass unemployment and sacrifice of workers and of appropriations of state funds which are currently being denied because nationalized firms are involved.

The destabilization of social and political, and possibly military activity is not a result of a firm dispute with the policy of the PS/PSD policy, but rather of that very policy.

#### We Are Not Opposed to the Installation of Nuclear Powerplants

[Question] Do you agree with the installation of nuclear powerplants in Portugal? What do you think of the ecological movements?

[Answer] The question of the nuclear powerplants has two different aspects.

First: the nuclear powerplants in the national energy policy. Since the safety conditions are guaranteed, we are not opposed in principle to the installation of nuclear powerplants, primarily because Portugal has uranium reserves that are essential for the independent production of nuclear power.

But, at the present time, the installation of nuclear powerplants in Portugal would not be a proper solution. At present, in our view, there are other steps to be taken in a truly national energy policy. There is the matter of using water resources that are still available. It seems to us that there is an exclusive application of the thermoelectric solution which fails to take into account the global nature of the existing resources and our country's limitations and needs.

Second: nuclear powerplants and the protection of the environment. We must fight against the installation of nuclear powerplants which do not offer sufficient safety conditions. But it must be stressed that there are countries in which a large portion of the energy produced at present comes from nuclear powerplants without the presence of serious, unresolved pollution problems.

We consider the ecological movements to be very useful, inasmuch as environmental protection is one of the major tasks posed for contemporary societies. That assessment is quite clear from the fact that a deputy from the Portuguese Ecological Movement (the Greens) was elected on the APU [United Peoples Alliance] ticket.

But the protection of the environment is not the exclusive responsibility of the ecological movements nor, in our opinion, should the ecological movements question the technological development and progress which unquestionably pose serious ecological problems, but which also contain, inherently, enormous potential for contributing to environmental protection.

#### The Government and the Former Colonies

[Question] What is your view of the present Portuguese Government's policy toward the Portuguese-speaking countries? And of the president of the republic? Does Dr Cunhal think that he is acting as an intermediary between the US and those countries?

[Answer] A distinction must be made between words and actions, and between a current position and strategic objectives. In its words, the PS/PSD government is an advocate of friendship with the new independent states established in the former Portuguese colonies; in its actions, it is giving direct or indirect support and facilities on Portuguese territory to the counterrevolutionary forces, to plot and organize attacks upon those states. The current position at the present time is one of development of cooperation with those states; the strategic objectives are a change in the internal political situation and the formation, in those states, of governments submissive to imperialism and to neocolonialism.

As for the president of the republic, in the first place, it has been more than proven that, countering pressure and campaigns from the reactionary forces, the president of the republic has engaged in a leading role in defining the major lines of Portuguese foreign policy, in certain respects one no less important than that of the government itself.

Secondly, we have no evidence that would enable us to admit such an intermediate role for the president of the republic.

But, speaking in general terms, we accept in principle possible good offices provided by Portugal in relations between other states (to be sure, with the consent of the latter). But, if the United States and South Africa are cited, there is evidence that the Reagan government actively supports the South African racists and the acts of military aggression and terrorism committed against Angola and Mozambique for the purpose of preventing peoples from attaining independence and from continuing along the path of construction of the socialist society for which they have opted.

#### All Nuclear Arms Are of Concern to Us

[Question] The installation of the new American missiles in Europe has received constant statements from you showing concern. Do the Soviet weapons also concern you?

[Answer] All nuclear arms are of concern to us, but we are more concerned about the nuclear arms in the hands of a country and a government such as the United States and the Reagan government, which are engaged in a fanatical policy of an arms race, provocation and aggression, than we are about those in the hands of another country which has expressed its willingness for an agreement (and has made proposals and taken constructive, realistic initiatives) on the limitation, reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons.

As for the installation of the new American missiles, it would be a very dangerous step in the arms race, and would considerably heighten the international tension and the dangers of a nuclear war, a veritable slaughter for all mankind.

Insofar as we Portuguese are concerned, PCP has come out firmly against the installation of missiles in our territory, as well as against the use (which is already being made) of the port of Lisbon for the anchoring of atomic submarines carrying nuclear weapons. These are serious threats to the security, peace and very existence of Portugal.

No reasons could justify such concessions in our territory and our waters. We are directly opposed to such concessions.

#### We Regret the 'Jumbo'

[Question] The issue of the South Korean "jumbo" jet took over forums of international importance which a politician with the responsibility of Dr Cunhal cannot fail to recognize. Do you consider the method of action of the Soviet officials ordering the attack on the commercial plane proper?

[Answer] We deeply regret the tragic incident which meant the loss of so many innocent lives. But, inasmuch as the question of responsibility for what happened has been brought up, I should stress that this issue cannot be simplified in a single sense, as was done in the question. Other questions must be asked, for example: Can the action of those who send civil aircraft, with passengers (in this case, with over 200 passengers), to fly by night and with lights turned off, over key areas with strategic missiles installed, more than 500 kilometers into the territory of another country, thereby putting many innocent lives at risk, be considered proper? As for the final judgment of responsibilities, it would be better for those who are quick in their condemnation to reflect a little, instead of immediately embarking on a campaign of diversion and disinformation launched by the Reagan government.

Cunhal Against Soares: It Is Not a 'Single Combat'

[Question] Once again, on the Portuguese political scene, Dr Cunhal and Dr Soares are in a "forefront battle." But the prime minister is in a psychological position wherein he appears indifferent to all criticism and pressure. The government opposition is effective only if it is a form of pressure as well. Aren't you afraid that PCP's types of action may be partially harmed by what appears to be the prime minister's determination?

[Answer] I don't see how the political struggle can be converted into a "single combat," as was waged by the knights in the Middle Ages. However, what you say could be interpreted as meaning that PS is now the leading party of a right wing government and that PCP is the leading opposition party. And that is true.

I don't see how the battle that is under way could be more psychological than political. We are not fighting the government's policy with the notion that an alternative will be achieved, because Dr Mario Soares will yield psychologically to pressure that is brought to bear on the government by the struggle. It is not a question of the capacity for listening nor the determination of the prime minister. We have never advocated the proposition that the political solution is "to convince the centurion to give up his sword." The PS/PSD government will fall when it has no strength with which to maintain itself.

And, in our opinion, it will cease to have it because it will not solve, but will rather aggravate all the national problems, because its base of social, political and electoral support will continue to decline rapidly, because the political forces comprising it have serious internal contradictions, because the institutions are operating and have strong potential for solving the political crisis within the framework of the constitutional region and because the Portuguese people will struggle with determination to put an end to an anti-democratic policy of national disaster and to finally achieve a democratic policy and a democratic alternative.

2909

CSO: 3542/6

## OZAL PRESENTS OVERVIEW OF FOREIGN POLICY PLATFORM

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 3 Oct 83 p 7

[Report by Faruk Bildirici]

[Text] Kastamonu--Motherland Party [ANAP] leader Turgut Ozal has disclosed his views on foreign policy. Ozal said: "I do not see any serious short or medium-term changes in our general [foreign policy] line."

In a conversation with journalists in a hotel lobby in Kastamonu, Ozal outlined Turkey's foreign policy in its general lines since the establishment of the republic. Referring to Turkey's entry into NATO, Ozal said: "We found ourselves in NATO to defend ourselves against one of our northern neighbors with whom we have fought for centuries." Stating that Turkey's relations with the Arab and Islamic world expanded after 24 January 1980, Ozal outlined the main problems in Turkish foreign policy as follows:

--The Lebanese civil war: It has become an unending conflict as a result of foreign interference. I do not think that the Lebanese conflict will expand and spill over to other countries. A formula will be found. But Lebanon will never regain the preeminence it has lost.

--The Iran-Iraq war: I wish the war would end, and we could export more goods to both countries. Because both sides have become unable to import goods because of their expenditures on military materiel. Turkey must use its influence to end this war. This is the most important problem of the region. It may lead to major upheavals.

--Cyprus and the Aegean: Both of them are unresolved problems. We are now in a more advantageous position compared to where we started from. But since a final accord has not been reached, I consider both of them unresolved problems. Efforts are under way to demilitarize the Aegean islands. Greece is Europe's eternal spoiled child. Papandreou is a good actor; he is managing the blackmail act very well. Actually if Greece acts intelligently, a solution may emerge in the medium and long run. But they are sticking to demagoguery.

--Relations with the socialist bloc: We are part of NATO. As part of that pact we are confronting the socialist bloc. However, our economic relations with the socialist bloc can be expanded within the framework of detente. We have a new formula to develop our relations with the socialist bloc. Turkey must establish

economic relations with everyone. Not everyone must be seen as part of a pact or a camp. We must be able to sell to and buy from anyone.

--Council of Europe: We must wait for a while after the elections to see if they will modify their decision. I believe that our relations with the Council of Europe will change after the elections.

--European Economic Community: An accord must be reached which will balance the interests of all sides concerned. If they dictate their terms on us we will have to rethink the issue of whether we want to enter the EEC.

Asked what he would do "if Europe's political stance is reflected onto economic relations", Ozal said: "I do not think that would happen. In any event Turkey will take the proper measures. We cannot accept injustice."

When a journalist said that he got the impression from Ozal's speech two days ago that Ozal is strongly convinced that his party will be elected to power, Ozal laughed and said: "I will not comment on that."

When a journalist reminded Ozal of Kamran Inan's statement to the effect that "we can win 280 seats in the assembly", Ozal replied: "Is he talking about the number of seats we will win, or the ones they will win?"

Ozal visited his party's district headquarters in Taskopru, Arac, Safranbolu and Karabuk yesterday and made speeches.

Ozal will continue his tour of ANAP provincial and district headquarters in Bolu today.

9588

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## PP'S CALP PLEDGES RELATIONS WITH SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 3 Oct 83 p 7

[Text] Populist Party [PP] leader Necdet Calp disclosed that his party will establish links with European social democratic parties to the extent Turkish laws permit.

Responding to questions posed by the Turkish News Agency, Calp said that the PP will establish links with social democratic parties which want to have relations with his party. Calp continued: "However, if you are referring to the likelihood of joining the Socialist International, it is too early to make a statement on that issue right now. Since we do not know what the future hold for us, we do not think it is right to make a statement that is projected onto the future."

The PP leader was asked: "Nationalist Democracy Party leader Turgut Sunalp said that there is nothing that says that the Constitution cannot be changed. What do you think about that?" Calp replied: "What he said is right."

In an interview with YANKI magazine, Calp said: "Every conscientious person knows and accepts that the PP is not a party of pretense." Calp continued:

"What is meant by pretense must be clarified. What should the PP pretend and to whom? We think that talking about 'pretense' is unjustified when our party is growing stronger with the great support it has received from the people despite its numerous financial problems."

Responding to YANKI's economic questions, Calp said that when his party comes to power worker and civil servant wages will be high enough to compensate for the erosion in purchasing power caused by inflation.

9588

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## SODEP'S KARTAY REJECTS UNION WITH PP, NOTES PARTY GOALS

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 3 Oct 83 pp 1,7

[Text] During his visits to the Zeytinburnu and Gaziosmanpasa district headquarters of the Social Democracy Party [SODEP], SODEP leader Cezmi Kartay said: "When the Populist Party [PP] found out that it could not undermine our organizational work, it proposed us a countrywide union. We did not accept that proposal. And now they are alleging that we are collaborating with extremist elements." Three parliamentary candidates and district administrators from the Motherland Party [ANAP] and district administrators from the Correct Way Party [DYP] listened to Kartay's speech in Gaziosmanpasa and wished him success.

Cezmi Kartay, who attended a meeting at his party's Istanbul provincial headquarters two days ago, yesterday visited and spoke at the SODEP district headquarters in Zeytinburnu and Gaziosmanpasa. Kartay arrived in Zeytinburnu accompanied by SODEP Administrative Council members and the leader of the party's Istanbul provincial organization and was greeted at SODEP's district headquarters by the party's district officials. Kartay stated that SODEP is not a transient phenomenon and that it has not been formed to enable certain individuals to win seats in the parliament by exploiting the conditions of the day. Kartay continued:

"SODEP was established in the process of return to democracy in the post-12 September period as the continuation of a historic development. Our ideas existed before 12 September. Today, we are here as the continuation of those ideas. SODEP's place in the Turkish political life can never be refuted. After rapidly completing its countrywide organization, our party met all the legal requirements and won the right to participate in the 6 November elections. However, the Higher Election Council unfairly prevented us from participating in the elections following baseless allegations made by certain political circles."

Kartay charged that the parties that will participate in the elections provide no answers to Turkey's problems and that certain parties have gone on a vote hunting campaign by waging propaganda against SODEP. Kartay said:

"During our organization phase that lasted until 24 August, the PP tried to undermine our efforts every day. Later they said that they are declaring SODEP a brotherly party. They proposed a countrywide union between the two parties. We did not accept that proposal. Subsequently, they made baseless allegations to the effect that SODEP is collaborating with extremist elements."

SODEP Zeytinburnu district leader Yusuf Tozkaparan began his speech by saying "the great leader of the largest party of our country" and said: "We are saying that we are the largest party. We are proud to be the administrators of this great party. We draw our strength from the people." Kartay later visited the SODEP district headquarters in Gaziosmanpasa and addressed an audience which included ANAP's Istanbul 5th District parliamentary candidates, Altan Kavak, Muntaz Kola and Tayfun Culcuoglu; ANAP district leader Raif Aksoy; other ANAP district officials; and DYP's deputy district leader in Gaziosmanpasa, Hasan Soylu. SODEP leader Kartay said that he was pleased with the visits of ANAP and DYP administrators. ANAP parliamentary candidates presented a bouquet of flowers to SODEP's Gaziosmanpasa district headquarters. When the ANAP candidates tried to leave during Kartay speech by saying, "We want to leave you alone with the party members", Kartay said: "If you wish you can stay until the end." Today, Kartay will visit his party's district headquarters in Catalca at 10:30 am, in Silivri at 12:30 pm and in Eminonu at 3:30 pm.

9588

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## EREL LOOKS FOR SPARKED VOTER AWARENESS IN CAMPAIGN

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 3 Oct 83 p 6

["Telex" column by Teoman Erel: "He is Warming up"]

[Text] The young man approached the beautiful young woman on the street:

"Can I be friends with you?"

"How dare you?"

The young man laughed: "My dear lady, all relationships begin this way."

One wonders whether the warm relationship between the voters and the new parties will also begin with anger caused by such improprieties.

Some political observers believe:

"Let it happen this way, just as long as it happens."

It is true. A negative reaction by the voters is preferable to no reaction at all, which is what we have today. Perhaps negative feelings to be aroused by a party or a party leader will push the people toward other parties.

From this perspective, I do not think that the improper and controversial statements made by party leaders and spokesmen can have too bad an impact.

On the contrary, I see expressions of surprise shown by citizens--including myself--as they follow the election news on television, radio and the press as auspicious and propitious signs for the future.

Suppose, for example, that a campaigning leader who used to be a champion of the belt-tightening policies says, "We are on the side of the worker, the lower-income segments and the middle class" and adds:

"We will make the Turkish miracle a reality."

If the voter listens to this with his eyes drooping, with low blood pressure and showing no signs of excitement on his face then the situation can be considered to be hopeless.

If, however, blood rushes to the voter's face and his lips begin twitching, we must pay attention.

What is he saying?

Is he saying, "We are fed up with magic" or "I know your old miracles"?

The indicators are positive; that voter's relationship with the campaign has begun. We should specially be not worried if he starts arguing with people around him. That voter will go to the polling booths and cast his vote. He will express what he feels and he may even choose to act like the jealous lover who shoots or knives his sweetheart at the height of his anger.

However, he has finally warmed up.

Some political party leaders may be looking more like sports club owners making incredible predictions before matches, even if they are not too boastful about economic miracles and what they will do in the future. They are too confident of themselves.

Sometimes, they boast that they "do not have any rivals" and sometimes they make such modest statements as "the countryside is ours."

This style took the following form recently:

"Going to the elections with two candidates missing is not a major disadvantage for us. We do not plan to win all 400 seats in the assembly."

Meanwhile, those around the leader were saying:

"Our leader is right. We will suffice with 300 seats."

If such statements are angering large numbers of voters and driving their blood pressure up, they may lead to propitious developments.

Those who cannot overcome their anger before election day will either vote for the opposite side or will start thinking more deeply and in more detail about their choice--because they have been excited and have begun to be interested in the elections--and will eventually reach a reasonable decision.

On the other hand, another party leader may not yet have decided on his final political stance.

That leader may talk about unemployment insurance one day and about increasing the growth rate on another day. On yet another day he may criticize current policies from the viewpoint of low-income groups. During a tour, he may declare, without saying whether he is joking:

"We will reduce the price of pastirma."

That should cause no despair. Who knows, life may spring from under those words, especially if that leader is trying to create surprise by trying to make

use of his rivals' boastful speeches and conflicts and if he is trying to give the impression of a common citizen "counting his worry beads" in the face of overconfident statements by rival leaders. He may create the impression that he is a more balanced, modest and "mistreated" leader than his boastful rivals. As the story goes:

Three men apply to work as crewmen on a ship. The ship's captain asks what they can do. The first one says: "I have very good eye sight. I can see from here the bald head of the captain of the sailboat on the horizon. He appears to have cut himself while shaving. I can see the scar from here."

The second man says: "I have very good hearing. Judging from the sounds I can hear right now, a group of ants are walking on a rope at the back of your ship toward the bridge."

The captain asks the third man: "What about you? What can you do?"

The man replies: "I get upset very well. In fact, I get so upset when I hear people like these two that you cannot find anyone like me on any ship."

In the pre-election political stage everyone appears to have chosen a role for himself and playing it. Some are puffing up with victorious airs, others are doing hat tricks to show that "no one is as skillful" as they are and still others are getting badly upset.

On the other hand, the spectator, who has seen more exciting shows in the past, is worrying everyone because he is not reacting to any of these. But when we see signs of life in the spectator, we say:

"There, he is warming up, he started to watch, he is reacting."

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## ULMAN ON NEGATIVE IMPACT OF TURKEY'S COE OUSTER

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 3 Oct 83 p 8

["From the Window of the World" column by Haluk Ulman: "With Cool Heads"]

[Text] The Advisory Board of the Council of Europe [COE] has finally reached its long-awaited decision about Turkey. According to that decision, Turkey will not be able to participate in COE Advisory Board meetings even after the 6 November elections. In other words, the COE Advisory Board will not admit to its meetings Turkish members of parliament elected to the National Assembly by the 6 November elections.

Because the decision that has been taken says that "in the light of the current conditions and the information that has been obtained, the parliament that will be elected in Turkey on 6 November will not be representative of the Turkish nation in a democratic sense."

This decision by the COE Advisory Board does not mean Turkey's expulsion from the council. It only means that Turkey will not be able to attend the board's meetings. In any case, the COE Advisory Board does not have the authority to expel Turkey from the council; that authority is vested in the Ministerial Council which is the executive organ of the COE. Even so, the decision says that the COE Advisory Board reserves the right to ask the Ministerial Council to invoke Article 8 of the COE's charter in connection with Turkey.

Article 8 is related to the expulsion of a member from the COE and states that an expulsion decision can only be passed by at least a two-thirds majority in the Ministerial Council. However, there is no doubt that even a simple majority decision of expulsion would make it impossible for a member to stay in the COE. Indeed, when the colonels were in power in Greece, Athens chose to withdraw voluntarily from the COE rather than face a similar prospect that was emerging.

The fact that the decision mentions that the COE Advisory Board reserves the right to ask for the invocation of Article 8 against Turkey means that some day that move will also come. And that means that ties between Turkey and the COE have reached their tensest point--in fact a breaking point.

At this crisis stage the correct thing to do for Turkey and the COE is to think with cool heads and to take steps to straighten up deteriorating relations before it is too late.

To do that, Turkey must pay more attention to respect COE's principles and values, and, in return, the COE must try to understand Turkey's present special and difficult circumstances.

Turkey must make a decision about the following questions: Is Turkey's place among Western democratic countries? Or is it not? If it is, then we have no other choice except trying to keep our place within the COE.

The COE is not one of the most important international organizations in the world; it has limited scope and authority. Withdrawal or expulsion from the COE would not cause intolerable damage to us. But such a development would lead to important results in our national as well as international policies. Indeed, the COE is an organization which strongly believes in democracy, which is pledged to defend democracy and which represents the democratic countries of Europe. The COE is an organization that admits only democratic countries. Membership in this organization is a symbol of democracy and respectability for the West. If you are left out, that means either that you are not part of the West or that you are part of the West--or, more exactly, you are with the West--but you are not a democracy.

A Turkey that is left out of the COE is a Turkey which is with the West but which is detached from the West, and we cannot easily risk the international drawbacks of such an isolation. New quests to end that isolation cannot go beyond being uncertain adventures.

Everyone should understand very well that those who will be most delighted with a break in our relations with the COE are those who would like to see Turkey have a new position in the world rather than be a part of the West and who would like to put Turkey in the place they have in their heads as well as those who are trying to bring to Turkey the authoritarian regimes forbidden by our Constitution.

Conversely, the COE must not forget that Turkey is at present going through a difficult period. This period must be seen as the critical juncture of a 40-year effort to set democracy on solid foundations. We will either pass this juncture and continue on our way with more confidence or we will not be able to pass it and remain where we are. What the COE should do is to help Turkey pass this juncture, not to impede it.

For that to happen, Turkey must stay in the COE. Trying to leave Turkey out of the COE will--as I said before--only strengthen the hand of those who are trying to pull Turkey away from the West and who favor an authoritarian regime in this country. Therefore, it is necessary to be patient and to see that the Turkish government's policies today are only temporary.

Haste makes waste.

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## MUMCU ON CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, PENAL CODE CONTRADICTIONS

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 27 Sep 83 pp 1,11

["Observation" column by Ugur Mumcu: "Cannot be Reproached...Cannot be Incriminated"]

[Text] If you compare certain provisions of the Turkish Penal Code with the Constitution you can hardly hold yourself from saying, "Are they ridiculing us?" Do you want to know why?

Read the Constitution:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought and opinion. No one can be forced to disclose his ideas or opinions and no one can be reproached or incriminated for his ideas or opinions under any circumstances and for any reason."

No one can be reproached or incriminated for his political views but everyone can be sentenced to 5 to 10 years in prison for views that, according to the Constitution, "cannot be reproached or incriminated."

But, still, they cannot be reproached.

They can go to prison for 15 years, but they cannot be reproached or incriminated.

Do not say, "How can such a thing happen?" It happens and it is happening. The Constitution says that "no one can be reproached or incriminated for his ideas and opinions", while the Penal Code specifies how a person can be incriminated for his ideas and opinions and how he can be sent to prison.

The Consultative Assembly is now discussing the Press Law. Once again the Constitution says that "the press is free" and that it "cannot be censored", but that is not how things really work. That is how the pertinent article in the Constitution sets out, but it later specifies conditions under which publications can be impounded before they are distributed.

As the saying goes, "What kind of diet is this, with pickled cabbage?" The part of our Constitution on freedoms reminds us of this saying. The article in the Constitution declares that "the press is free", but then goes on to explain how this "free" press can be restricted. It grants freedom in theory and provides means to restrict and to withdraw that freedom in practice.

Here is another contradiction. Article 29 of the Constitution says:

"The law cannot impose political, economic, financial and technical conditions which may bar or impede the free dissemination of news, ideas and opinions."

In other words?

In other words, according to this article, our Constitution favors the free dissemination of "news, ideas and opinions", and this free dissemination cannot be barred or impeded. However...

However, the Constitution and the Press Law currently under discussion in the Consultative Assembly provide for the collection of printed works prior to publication as well as the closure of publishing houses and subsidiaries in the event certain crimes are committed.

But the press is free, and no legislation can bar, or even impede, the free dissemination of information.

It is not yet clear which governments and who will implement these provisions in the future. It is particularly difficult to predict how these provisions will work in practice. We will live and we will see.

They are saying: "These measures are for the fractional press controlled by the secret organizations; you have nothing to worry about."

As far as we know, laws are "general, objective and impersonal" juridicial arrangements. Once a law is enacted, phrases like "these are for the fractional press" stop having any meaning. The law is the law: Everyone is subject to it.

Now, let us tell you about a problem in implementation:

The Constitution and the new draft Press Law contain provisions about "halting publication." According to these provisions, "any news item or article which threatens the state's internal or external security and its indivisible unity with its country and nation, which encourages criminal activities or rebellion and which is related to secret information belonging to the state will be found out at the time of its printing and its publication will be stopped."

How will such articles be found out in newspapers before the papers are published? Therefore, the government will have its "agents" in newspapers.

You are saying that "the press is free and cannot be censored." You are saying that "news will be freely disseminated." You are saying that "no one can be reproached or incriminated for his ideas or opinions." After saying all these in the Constitution, you are introducing rules whereby newspapers printed at night can be impounded before they reach the newsstands.

This law is not enough. On this issue another law is needed to specify the rights, powers and responsibilities of those who will report articles considered

to be criminal to the appropriate places. This law must regulate such issues as "compensation for tipping."

Today, the press is controlled by holding companies. Thus, economic conditions and holding company takeovers are already limiting the freedom of the press. Today, there are only one or two newspapers that are not owned by holding companies. It is getting increasingly difficult to criticize the privileged segments of the society. Tomorrow, on the basis of this Press Law, the political leadership will be able to silence the segment of the press that remains unaffiliated with holding companies.

But there is nothing to worry about gentlemen! You cannot be reproached or incriminated in any way for your ideas and opinions. You may go to jail once in a while, but that is all...

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## FIRST DETAILS OF PLANNED NUCLEAR AIRCRAFT CARRIER

Bonn MILITARY TECHNOLOGY in English Oct 83 pp 92-93

[Text] DTCN [Direction Technique des Constructions Navales] has circulated the first information about the new carrier for the French Navy bearing the temporary designation of PAN (Porte-Avions Nucleaire, Nuclear Aircraft Carrier) and intended to replace the CLEMENCEAU towards 1996.

The carrier, included in the 1984-1988 defence programme, will be ordered in 1986 and laid down in 1988 at the Naval Arsenal at Brest; a second unit to replace the FOCH is also tentatively planned at a later date, although still without official blessing.

The PAN will have a full load displacement of about 36,000 t, a wl length of 238 m and a wl breadth of 31.8 m: she will be constructed much along the lines of her 32,700 t predecessors of the CLEMENCEAU class — an interesting attempt to design a carrier of rather contained dimensions but still able to operate with CTOL (as opposed to V/STOL) aircraft. It is however to be pointed out that the hull's dimensions were limited *a priori* by the necessity to take into account the dimensions of the naval drydocks at Brest and Toulon. In practice, the main design problem was how to ensure, within acceptable dimensions, sufficient space for the flight component.

The nuclear power plant will be based on two nuclear reactors of the same model presently being developed for the seventh SSBN; it will develop more than 80,000 hp, giving a max. speed of slightly over 27

knots. If confirmed, this data could be considered as rather surprising when compared with the 126,000 hp and 32 knots of the CLEMENCEAU's steam turbines power plant.

The general configuration of the new carrier, although still "classical" in general outline, will be rather innovative from some points of view — such as, for instance, the island placed forward instead of midships or aft as in the most recent US carriers. This solution was adopted in order to leave space for the two lifts (20 x 12.5 m, capacity 50 t) arranged one behind the other on the right side. Between the two lifts, a large space for parking is available: this space, whose lack has been identified as one of the most serious shortcomings of the CLEMENCEAU's design, will allow a number of aircraft to be kept ready on alert without interfering with the normal flight operations. Also, with both lifts placed abaft the island and hence shielded by it, it is possible to reduce the adverse effect of heavy seas on the fore lift. In order to facilitate movements between the hangar and the flight deck, the two lifts can each carry two aircraft at the same time.

In order to maximise the space available for the aircraft and the related workshops, the PAN has been designed according to the "open hangar" principle, with the hangar taking the whole width of the ship. This choice was also influenced by the desire to have lateral lifts, preferred to axial lifts for their obvious advantages (no interruption in flight operations when the lifts are lowered, less risk of a fire on the flight deck reaching the hangar, easy adaptation to new aircraft).

However, in order to combine the "open hangar" principle with a sufficient structural strength the hangar is not placed immediately under the flight deck, but is separated from the flight deck by an intermediate deck. As a result, the hangar will be larger than that of the CLEMENCEAU (ratio 1.4:1) with dimensions of about 140 x 30 m, but its height will be reduced.

The flight deck will have a total length of 262 m and a max. width of 61 m, with a total surface of 12,300 m<sup>2</sup>; the length of the angled runway will be 140 m. Two 75 m steam catapults will be fitted, one over the bow

on the left of the centre line and the other across the angled runway. As the fore catapult also crosses the runway, no simultaneous TO and landing operations will be possible. This is the result of a precise design choice, the capability to carry on simultaneous TO and landing operations having been sacrificed to more parking space.

The PAN is intended to operate a flight component of 40 aircraft, exactly the same as the CLEMENCEAUs; however, and mainly thanks to the space and weight gains offered by the nuclear propulsion, not only parking and hangar spaces but also fuel (for the aircraft) and ammunition reserves will be 50% better than the CLEMENCEAUs.

The ship will enter service with a flight component entirely made up of SUPER ETENDARDS (plus, of course, the usual helicopters for SAR). These will subsequently be replaced by the new ACMs (Avion de Combat Maritime, that is the shipborne operational offspring of ACX). As the design of the ACM is still far from being started, and as the PAN will in any case end her career around 2030 with a third generation of aircraft em-

barked, in order to leave a sufficient growth margin in the design, the "typical embarked aircraft" has been visualised as a 20-t twin-engine aircraft more or less similar to the F/A-18.

The possibility of a future adoption of V/STOL or STOL aircraft has also been taken into consideration. For this purpose, the bow will be strengthened with structures which could easily accept a "ski-jump". It appears that no ASW flight component (the CLEMENCEAUs have some ALIZES) is planned.

The defensive armament is still being discussed. The model unveiled by DTCN shows two CROTALE Naval eight-cell launchers (one fore and one aft of the island) as well as what seems to be a multi-cell missile launcher on a sponson under the flight deck on the left side. Anti-missile systems will of course be fitted.

The electronics will comprise a DRBJ11B phased array 3D air search radar (also to be fitted on the AA corvettes of the GEORGES LEYGUES class), a DRBV27 long range air search radar, a DRBV15 air/surface search radar and a VAMPIR infrared panoramic surveillance system.

## PLANNED UPGRADING OF NAVY'S AIR, SURFACE FORCES

Paris DEFENSE NATIONALE in French Aug-Sep 83 pp 177-180

[Article by Edouard de Cassius: "Navy Looks to the Future"]

[Text] In this column last March, we examined the threats which navies of medium-sized countries will face at the dawn of the 21st century. We concluded that this was a highly appropriate time to reflect on the type of ships that will have to deal with these threats.

The 1984-1988 programming law [5-year defense plan] approves three new major naval programs--aircraft carriers, maritime patrol aircraft, and operational transports--and continuation of existing programs for surface ships and nuclear-powered attack submarines. In so doing, this law fixes the type of new ships for many years to come because modern ships have a service life of 25 to 30 years. At midlife, however, they do undergo an extensive refit to upgrade their weapons and equipment.

The fact that implementation of new construction plans is spread over a number of years means that incorporation of new combat equipment into that construction is a continuous operation profiting from reflective action on three levels:

- a. Maximum optimization of new ships under construction while still retaining the capability of improving them;
- b. Some 10 years of preparatory work in designing ships for the following decade;
- c. Carefully following all technical developments that could be incorporated into means of combat at sea in the distant future.

This reflection process is included in the long-range planning activity of military staffs and technical services. Successive programming laws serve planners as guideposts on the road leading to the ideal objective.

In two of these late-summer columns, we propose to compile the elements of information entering into this type of reflection. Apart from the forward-looking interest of such an approach, it will permit us to survey most of the problems confronting the French Navy in its preparations for the end of the century.

To illustrate these remarks, we have chosen three aircraft displayed at the recent Paris air show. Each in their own way, these three aircraft enter into the process of reflection we have referred to.

The ATL 2 [second-generation Atlantic] is the new French maritime patrol aircraft. It is an example of the new models that will be placed in service with the most advanced equipment developed to date, but whose design does not rule out subsequent modifications.

The ACX [experimental fighter aircraft] is a prefiguration of the end-of-the century combat aircraft. The sleek full-scale mockup shown at the air show could be likened to an artist's drawing. Yet it does materialize the thinking of those persons charged with designing this aircraft, a "navalized" version of which could be the aircraft the navy will need to arm its nuclear-powered aircraft carriers in about 15 years. For this reason, the characteristics of such an aircraft are already being taken into account in design drawings for the aircraft carrier whose construction is to begin in 1986 and whose preliminary design was described in COLS BLEUS, 4 June 1983.

The Skyship 500 dirigible is the prototype of an ambitious program. This airship has flown at the Paris air show many times. The dirigible concept is nothing new. Although it had been abandoned, it was subsequently revived thanks to the use of new and original materials and systems. This situation is illustrative of the fact that those who think of the future must remain alert and not let themselves overlook an innovation that could assume a choice position in future defense systems. Hence the navy responded favorably to the request that it receive this airship late in June at the Saint Raphael Naval Air Base where it was able to demonstrate its capabilities in a maritime environment.

These three generations of aircraft--one current, another highly probable, and the third hypothetical--can find equivalents among ships and among the weapons and equipment they contain. In this article, we shall attempt to outline tomorrow's ships and weapon systems without financial constraints and by giving our imagination full play in an effort to shed maximum light on the future.

It must be clearly understood, however, that these observations reflect solely the author's personal views and are not meant to disclose any navy "projects" but to show what type of reflection confronts our navy.

In this first article, we shall examine possible changes in ship structures. In the second article next month, we shall examine similar possible developments in naval weapons and equipment. Inasmuch as ships and their weaponry and equipment are interrelated, this division of our remarks into two articles is necessarily artificial. Moreover, we shall define structure therein as the lines and general layout of the hull, and the propulsion mode as well.

The first item on which we must dwell is the vulnerability of ships. We do not mean solely a ship's vulnerability to a direct hit, by a missile for example, but also its vulnerability to a nuclear, chemical, and even

biological attack, or to a lack of acoustic, electromagnetic, and infrared security discipline.

Against the first of these vulnerabilities, tomorrow's ships will incorporate a greater horizontal and vertical dispersion of vital sections and compartments, as opposed to the present concentration of operational facilities inside the bridge unit. Research is also being conducted on improved damage control equipment and systems.

Introduction of Halon gas in the latter will be a step forward. Yet it is primarily on the prevention level that any further major progress can still be made. Cable systems are a typical example in this respect because fire can spread rapidly through them in an extremely surreptitious manner. The development of new materials--O halogen cable, for example--is very promising. But the most attractive future solution is the replacement of conventional cables by optical fibers. Fiber optics technology also makes it possible to reduce the weight and bulkiness of cable systems, and to such a point that a highly advantageous redundancy of circuits is conceivable. A present-day 4,000-ton combatant ship is crisscrossed by approximately 200 kilometers of various cables weighing some 100 tons! A weight saving of about 40 tons could be achieved with optical fibers.

Measures have long been taken to counter radiological attacks upon ships. Chemical and biological attacks can be countered by similar measures based mainly on closed-circuit operation of ventilation systems and the washing down of superstructures. Protection against electromagnetic pulse (EMP) caused by a high-altitude nuclear burst is becoming a problem of increasing concern. Such protection can be obtained--by shielding electrical circuits and waveguides--on existing ships but will be achieved especially on future ships by making major modifications in the routing of these circuits.

Lastly, protection against a ship's numerous detectable characteristic noise and other patterns that identify it as a target will be obtained by systematic reduction of signatures. Noises made by the submerged hull will be reduced by shapes developed from studies and analyses conducted in laboratories and test tanks. Radar and infrared images will be attenuated by shapes or such special protective measures as inclined bulkheads, screens on exhausts, dispersion of hot spots, etc. As for the detectable electromagnetic radiations from ship equipment, they are no longer a structure-related problem but are part of the even more complex problem of countermeasures and of what is generally designated as electronics warfare.

Combatant ships will no longer be designed without provisions being made for helicopters. The latter are becoming an integral part of antisubmarine and anti-surface ships warfare. They will be used to extend surveillance and detection and serve as communications relays, not to mention the many other tasks they are capable of performing. One marked change in helicopters is that they are becoming heavier. A helicopter weighing at least 8 tons will be a very common sight on ships in the future. Landing platforms and hangars will become a primary consideration in designing the lines of the hull and will take up a great deal of space. Given a helicopter's inherently limited

speed, we cannot rule out the possibility that a requirement for vertical takeoff and landing aircraft ("convertibles") may develop rapidly.

The vertical-launch missile concept will assert itself more and more each day. We have already witnessed the appearance of missiles in containers. We must henceforth devise missiles housed in vertical silos built entirely into the ship's hull.

Lastly, the notion on interchangeability of equipment, either to reinforce a particular capability or facilitate repair and maintenance, is steadily gaining increased acceptance. Implementation of this concept will necessitate keeping spaces available on deck in which to place easily handleable semimobile equipment.

Marine propulsion systems are undergoing a sort of rearrangement rather than a revolution. This rearrangement consists in limiting the different types of propulsion on the basis of a ship's tonnage and primary mission: combat on the high seas, combat in coastal approaches, and support.

Nuclear propulsion will continue to be restricted to ocean-going ships of large tonnage--aircraft carriers, cruisers--not so much because of its cost but rather because of the space such a power plant requires. The probable limit is 8,000 tons.

For combatant ships of less tonnage, the trend will be to almost entirely replace steam propulsion by gas turbines and high-performance diesel engines.

Lastly, support and auxiliary ships, for which high speeds are not warranted, will for the most part be powered by conventional diesel engines.

It will be noted that, apart from nuclear propulsion, gas oil will become the sole fuel for military marine propulsion.

Submarines are to hold a special position. Nuclear propulsion is now firmly accepted by major naval powers. Diesel-electric propulsion will continue to be used by smaller navies. It is probable, moreover, that electric propulsion will remain in favor with large navies for use on a limited number of submarines because of its advantageous silence and versatility.

The above-mentioned developments will not occur in ship hulls all in one fell swoop. Meanwhile, naval architects will have a strong propensity to trace unbroken lines and compact shapes, and erase the many jagged irregular features that bristle throughout superstructures of present ships. Some vessels on the drawing board already foreshadow future ships with decks that seem empty and superstructures that have austere shapes.

And we may even witness the appearance of the new greyhounds of the sea, namely surface effects ships that ignore Archimedes' principle whenever there is need to go very fast, and free themselves from undersea threats. Such ships already exist, but their passage from the experimental stage to operational employment is quite laborious.

We have outlined herein a few of the important factors influencing development of structures for ships of the future. We do realize, however, that the ultimate purpose of these ships is combat. That is why next month we shall fill these hulls with the weapons and equipment for which they are designed. And we shall see that changes in this field are much more rapid, and that he who is lulled by the complacency of having graceful ships runs a risk of having an abrupt and rude awakening.

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## GOVERNMENT MOVES AGAINST LARGE CEMENT PLANT

## Company Accused of Wrongdoing

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 14 Sep 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Nikos Nikolaou]

[Text] A complaint against Alex. G. Tsatsos, members of his family and other officials at the AGET [General Cement Corporation]-Iraklis cement industry for fraud to a criminal degree, which caused losses of more than 100 million dollars, was lodged on 13 September at the Athens' Public Prosecutor's Office by the general secretary of the Ministry of National Economy, Gr. Kasimatis, on behalf of the public. At the same time, an interdiction was sought to forbid the 13 individuals charged from leaving the country. The complaint is for fraud to a criminal degree, dishonesty, and violation of the laws on protection of the national currency (illegal exporting of exchange).

The complaint is based on a combination of related articles of the penal code with the provisions of Law 1608/50, which, in a case of fraud at the public's expense, even provides for the death penalty.

In his evening statement, AGET's managing director, G. Tsatsos, expressed his surprise over the very serious accusations which, as he reported, he heard for the first time on television and he stressed that these charges will be shown to be groundless in court.

The announcement of the complaint's submission was made by Minister of National Economy Ger. Arsenis yesterday afternoon to the newspapers' economic writers who had been awaiting it for hours since they had been notified that the announcement of an important event was imminent. Mr. Arsenis' delay was due to his lengthy conference with the prime minister, obviously on this issue, which, in addition to its large dimension as an economic event (AGET is one of the country's largest and most successful industries, with significant exports, while at the same time employing thousands of workers), also has its political extensions. Precisely for this reason, Mr. Arsenis diligently tried to persuade the writers that this does not concern a pursuit of industrialists except in an isolated case. However, the minister refused to comment on whether the lodging of complaints against other industrialists is imminent, as the pro-government press prognosticates daily.

It should be noted that Mr. Arsenis departed directly after his general announcement and left the ministry's general secretary, Gr. Kasimatis, to give journalists the history and details of the case. At any rate, Mr. Kasimatis was unable to give a persuasive answer to a question of whether the government has taken all the measures so that the court can pass judgement soon because if the case--as usually happens--is delayed, many people might think that the complaint was lodged in the frameworks of an effort to make an impression on public opinion and cultivate a pre-electoral atmosphere.

It also emerged that the directors of AGET were not called upon to give explanations about the things of which they are being accused.

It should be noted that every now and then, the government, through its friendly press, and Mr. Arsenis himself, have threatened that they would send industrialists to the prosecutor's office, while information from other government functionaries reported that the government, marching towards elections, would attempt such a diversion in order to cover its failure in economic matters.

It should be noted that the whole government machinery was mobilized yesterday for the showy presentation of the issue to the press; hours after Mr. Arsenis' announcements, the deputy minister to the prime minister took over this job, sending the whole accusation to the government newspapers.

In addition, Mr. Arsenis reported that the machinery had been activated for convocation of a special general meeting of shareholders so that appropriate measures can be taken to secure the company's interests. The new administrative council will proceed--as Minister of National Economy Ger. Arsenis stated--with the help of the government and workers, to restoring and reorganizing the company. It is notable that the National Bank controls 40 percent of the company's shares, and, along with other organizations and foundations, the public has the absolute majority of shares. The Tsatsos family holds 18 to 20 percent of the shares.

Ger. Arsenis, who announced the event yesterday afternoon, stressed in his statement to economic writers: "What interests us is the survival and development of Greek industry. We do not have personal grudges with anyone in the area of industry and the monitoring and prosecution of businessmen is not an aim for us. But when, within the frameworks of the government's efforts to restore certain businesses, information about serious violations comes to light, then we can only refer the cases to court without hesitation."

Other Companies to Be Referred?

Answering related questions, Mr. Arsenis also said:

1. We went ahead and lodged the complaint after a careful inspection and collecting of data which are the base for the accusation.
2. We have no special program for persecutions against businessmen. If the data are serious, we elaborate them.
3. I am not in a position to say what the next steps will be; that is, if other companies will also be referred.

4. At any rate, inspections are being made by the Council for Price Inquiry, as well as the Bank of Greece.

Previously, Mr. Arsenis had given the following announcement to the writers:

"The government has repeatedly stated--and has committed itself before the Greek people--that it will proceed in restoring and upgrading the national economy so the country can follow a road of self-powered development.

"One of the prerequisites for development is that the national resources are used by business units to increase production and the nation's wealth, not channeled into other purposes. Thus we cannot tolerate illegal activities which result in the weakening of our economy, bleeding of our national resources and provocative enrichment of some people. For this reason, the government can only immediately refer to court the cases of violations of the laws coming into its hands, for imposition of legal sanctions.

"It is in this spirit we should construe today's deposition by the ministry's general secretary, Mr. Kasimatis, of a complaint against 13 members of the Administrative Council and senior officials of AGET-Iraklis, Inc. for fraud to a criminal degree, dishonesty, and illegal exporting of exchange. The total loss to the company, shareholders and Greek public exceeds 100 million dollars.

"The machinery for convocation of a special general meeting of shareholders to take the appropriate measures required to secure the company's interests has already been activated. The new administrative council will proceed, with the government's help, to reorganizing and restoring the company.

"With this action, we are meeting a demand of the working people, but also SEV [Association of Greek Industrialists], to make accusations for specific offenses. We also wish to reemphasize on this occasion that the government has no intention of persecuting the private sector. On the contrary, as the prime minister stressed recently in his speech in Salonica, the government has a program for support of the private sector and creation of a favorable economic environment, insuring appropriate conditions for development of a private initiative which will move unhindered in the frameworks of correct business activity and the five-year program."

General Secretary Gr. Kasimatis reported that charges have been lodged against Alexandros G. Tsatsos, Georgios A. Tsatsos, Akhil. Z. Kominos, Despoina A. Tsatsou, Nikolaos D. Stathakopoulos, Io. N. Khrysovelonis, Andr. A. Tsatsos-Khatzikyriakou, Alexandros Sakellariou, Konstandinos Zafeirakis, Evang. Tsotsoros, Konstandinos Petropoulos, Mustafa Azam and Georgios Gavriil.

The above were charged, specifically, for underpricing exported cement and overpricing imported raw materials (coal, cinder) and machines.

The methodization for these activities took place, according to Mr. Kasimatis, within a network of phoney companies which, while they offered no service, reaped various sums. More specifically, there were more than 50 companies in which the charged persons participated; they were controlled by three other companies abroad in which the same people also took part. These companies were the following:

1. Marin Cement Management, with headquarters in Liberia. Without offering any service, it received 1.67 dollars in commission for every ton of cement it delivered to Saudi Arabia since 1977. It is calculated that in this way it reaped more than 10 million dollars.

2. Cementonavias Compania Naviera, with headquarters in Panama, which bought cement from AGET at low prices (for example, 35 dollars a ton) and sold it to Egypt for 60 dollars and thus profited, deducting freight, at least five dollars a ton. It also made cash-down sales and paid off "Iraklis" in installments, and bought cement from other countries. In this way, it has earned 10 million dollars since 1981.

3. Golden Union Shipping, with headquarters in Panama. It managed ships which carried the cement, even though "Iraklis" had its own ships. Duplicate freight charters were found, and the same company smuggled machines.

#### G. Tsatsos' Statement

Georgios Tsatsos, managing director of AGET-Iraklis, made the following statement:

"I was stunned when informed by the means of mass communication of the very serious charges which Minister of National Economy G. Arsenis is launching against my family and AGET-Iraklis, and the groundlessness of these most serious charges will be proved very soon in the courts. Aside from this, however, everyone has the right to observe that it is not possible for a responsible minister, for the sake of whatever expediency, to anticipate the court's decision.

"AGET-Iraklis has a history of many decades, a history of a constant pioneering contribution to the country's industrial development and it is not inclined to accept charges, from whomever they might come."

#### Political Comments

Athens EPIKAIRA in Greek 22 Sep 83 p 8

[Text] It is certain that the beheading in AGET was a shock. A positive one, on the one hand, because it gave sufficient food to the exhausted psychological reserves of the adherents of the tough "allaghi," and negative, on the other, because it froze not only actions or preparations for, but also thoughts about, any business initiative. Up to now the businesses said: "We are not making investments until we see where we are going, but we are maintaining the status quo and preparing for something in the future." After AGET, consideration was abolished. "Self-preservation or flight" is now the prevailing feeling.

Of course, no one, even those closest to the beheaded, will stand by them if they have really broken the laws. At any rate, most people believe that serious businessmen do not approach the boundary of illegality because--if nothing else--the disincentive (namely, defamation and penalties) is stronger than the possible economic incentive. And the Tsatsos family is considered serious.

The problem is that the judicial decision on whether illegalities exist or not takes years. In the meantime, the political benefits of the bomb have been collected by

the "bombadiers" and the situation in business has assembled itself on other models. Ipso facto, revanche is usually not easy even if there is an acquittal.

#### Wild-Goose Chase

Until the charges for draining off 100 million dollars to phantom companies abroad are cleared up judicially, the accused will be under trial in seclusion but "innocent in principle." The least is known about the substance of the charges. The whole weight turns on whether the profits of three foreign companies (in which AGET participated), from trade or transport of AGET cement, are an illicit export of exchange. It concerns: Marin Cement Management, Liberia; Cementonavia Compania Navieras, Panama; and Golden Union Shipping Company, Panama.

Unconfirmed information says that holding the majority in these companies are Arabs who imposed this method of accepting profit to "facilitate" placement of Greek cement in their countries.

There is, moreover, the rumor that, on a certain importation of coal, the price paid was greater than that which DEI [Public Power Corporation] obtained a little later.

If the explanation on the first charge is corroborated and the second proves erroneous or with normal deviations, then the "wild-goose chase" may be resumed--perhaps after two years.

In the meantime, the price of an AGET share has tumbled below the face value (605) to around 550 drachmas (from the highest point this year which was 1,180), while the open battle between Arsenis and Panagopoulos concerning the administration of AGET gives another dimension to the bombshell case.

#### Reactions

There were the following reactions to the chorus, insulting for the Tsatsos family, in the pro-government press:

1. The members of the company's Administrative Council who are being charged; The way in which the issue appeared and was given to publicity does not serve the company and national interests.

They are submitting their resignations and leaving the responsibilities for the consequences to those who provoked the issue.

2. New Democracy: Everyone agrees on all the offenders being referred to court. But: "The way in which the government dealt with the issue is objectionable. Prejudicing justice with government announcements and handing over anyone--even the most insignificant Greek citizen--before he is judged as prey to the press and government television and radio is not allowable and happens only in regimes which do not respect basic human rights or the laws of a true democracy."

3. Association of Greek Industrialists: The court will decide on the substance. "But the process followed to present the charges, even before the business was called to give explanations, creates a grave atmosphere which will prejudice not only the case itself but, more generally, the whole economy."

4. The opposition newspapers reacted in the same spirit.

## TEXT OF GOVERNMENT-LABOR COST AGREEMENT OF 22 JAN 83

Naples NORD E SUD in Italian Jan-Mar 83 pp 219-229

[Article: "Agreement on Labor Cost of 22 January 1983"]

[Text] The government and the union organizations of workers and employers confirm the objective undertaken on 22 June 1981 and reaffirmed by the present government--with the intent to achieve a gradual reduction in inflation--to fulfill the commitment in their decisions and actions to hold the rate of increase in consumer prices to the average annual level in 1983 and within a variation of less than 10 percent in 1984.

The government and the union organizations of workers and employers affirm the parallel objective of tackling the serious employment problem through a series of legislative and administrative measures and joint action by the social parties.

Agreed Premises

--Believing that increase in incomes must be kept within limits such as to retain their real value;

--That the achievement of this objective requires revision of the direct tax criteria to prevent taking of an excessive portion of employee work income in relation to real income, thus reducing ready cash;

--That the increases in administered and supervised prices and the public rates should not exceed, on an annual weighted average, a 13 percent increase in 1982;

--That this stabilization in real incomes and costs should not be impeded by an increase in the social burdens for companies to a degree greater than proportional to the changes in remuneration;

--That better use of resources allocated to family allowances could contribute, along with revision of tax levies, to giving better proportion to payment for the needs of the family unit.

## Agree

On the measures to be taken as specified in this agreement. In particular, the union organizations of workers and employers, whose contractual relations have either expired or are in the process of renewal, commit themselves, in order to arrive at new agreements and contracts, to follow the principles here enunciated, which are the same principles that the government will follow in renewal of the public service contracts, taking into account the special characteristics of the latter.

## Personal Income Tax

1) The government will present to Parliament an urgent measure to modify personal income tax in the direction both of neutralizing the tax drain and achieving a more equitable distribution of the income tax following the guidelines already issued by the finance minister and cleared with the union organizations of workers. (attachment 1).

## Family Allowances

2) The government will present to Parliament a measure to establish a supplementary allowance for dependent children not older than 18, to be determined on an adjusted basis depending on the level of family income and the number of dependent children, to be effective 1 July 1983, with the financial burden to fall on the state budget in the amount of 650 billion liras for 1983 and in accordance with the provisions of the agreement (attachment 2).

## Fiscal Policy

3) The government will present to Parliament a measure for fiscalization of the social burdens of companies, equal to the percentage impact in 1982. As part of the new system of the special measures in the South, an additional fiscalization of social burdens will be proposed for new employment there.

## Rates

4) The government pledges itself to maintain the average weighted annual increase in rates, administered prices and supervised prices to within 13 percent for 1983; also, it will call periodic meetings to review the progress of these indicators, and to confirm adherence to the commitment and to define the objectives and commitments for 1984.

As for electricity rates in particular, the government, after consulting with the union organizations, will introduce an easing of increases for the social category of domestic users, while keeping the ENEL investment program unchanged.

In respect to urban transport, the government undertakes to propose to Parliament introduction, within the context of local finance practices, of a special rate commuter ticket as well as rail transport tickets at special rate and for particular use. In setting the rates and establishing the issuing procedures, the concerned bodies must clear them with the union organizations with largest representation on the national level.

## Health

5) The government undertakes, in regard to health assistance, to propose to Parliament measures to limit the burden on workers of buying medicines and for diagnostic, equipment, or laboratory tests, by limiting the impact of the ticket, also for medical visits, and by extending the benefit categories for total exemption, in accordance with the provisions of the agreement (attachment 3).

## Social Insurance

6) The government undertakes to propose a modification of the recent limiting guidance on the right to treatment of illnesses (article 10 of decree law No 3 of 1983). The limitations in this respect will concern individual cases of illnesses and individual categories of workers, of specified duration, both public and private.

Pending a new system for pension treatment of disability, the government will propose to Parliament on an urgent basis a standard for setting, within the intent of royal decree law No 636 of 1939, a "threshold" of gross income (three times the total of the minimum payment under the employee worker pension fund) for employee, independent, or professional work, below which the [as published] earning capacity cannot be regarded as reduced, assuming pension treatment of disability.

The government will meet with the social parties for joint study of social insurance and pension reform measures.

## Wage Indexing

7) The government and the union organizations of workers and employers pledge to keep the average annual increase in cost of living, in the public and private sectors, within the limits specified in the premises.

In order to work toward the objectives and conform to the aforementioned commitments, the organizations agree to the following modifications to the agreements governing cost of living allowance; the government and the organizations pledge to adopt the same measures for public employment and in instituting special supplementary payments or similar payments.

A) Reversion to 100, as of 31 January 1983, of the cost of living index, to be valid for purposes of determining cost of living payments; in accordance with the relevant norms in protocol No 1 annexed to the confederal agreement of 15 January 1957, adopting as new base of the index, equal to 100, the expenditures of the typical family for the quarter August to October 1982. All the other relevant norms of the cited protocol will remain in effect, supplemented by the amount established by the modifying agreement of 25 January 1968 on calculating the expenditure for the "housing" category;

B) In determining the increases in cost of living payments, reference will be made to the absolute differences net of decimal points between the quarter average cost of living index and the preceding quarter's average index.

The variations thus calculated will determine the increases in cost of living allowance or points by assigning to each point of variation in the index the amount of 6,800 liras per month. This can be broken down by hour and/or day, depending on the provisions of the respective labor contract;

C) If the government wants to make changes in indirect taxes, with the purpose of consolidating and rationalizing rates, the parties will meet in special session to agree on the guidelines and degrees of impact of these changes on the prices of items composing the family budget, which is taken as the basis for determining the cost of living payments;

D) At the end of each year, the government and the parties will meet to check on the behavior of inflation in relation to the inflation rate predicted, and to calculate compensation measures in case of difference. This calculation will not take into account possible increases in inflation as a result of revaluation of the dollar in relation to the weighted average of the European Community currencies, including the lira, thus removing wage variation from the effects of that possible revaluation.

#### Contract Renewals

8) Consistent with the commitments undertaken in respect to increase in labor cost, and having calculated the benefits to net wages of employees through the modification in personal income taxes and introduction of the supplementary allowance for dependent children, the maximum amounts of wage increases for renewal of collective contracts, already expired or expiring, in industrial sectors are as follows:

25,000 liras effective 1 January 1983  
plus 35,000 liras effective 1 January 1984  
plus 40,000 liras effective 1 January 1985.

The amounts indicated for 1983 and 1984 are intended to include any increase of a collective nature at factory level, until the 20th month of the provision in the category contract.

Determination of wage increases, which will be carried out at the negotiation of category contracts, will take into account the need to establish wage parameters consistent with the objective of rewarding professionalism of workers and factory efficiency.

In the individual category contract renewal negotiations, and particularly those for public employment, there will be a review of the other automatic increases, including those relating to longevity payments, in order to reduce this burden.

A commission will be established for the public sector to calculate the financial flows of expenditure for employees of the extended public sector, and to meet with the union organizations, on the basis of the conclusions, to calculate also the expenditures to be raised again for negotiation.

## Labor Market

9) The government undertakes to support in Parliament reform of the operation of the labor market through urgent approval of draft bill No 1602 with the appropriate amendments, and to propose adoption of provisions and actions to promptly implement the principal measures. These measures should be the following:

A) Assignment to the regional employment commissions, within the framework provided in the document approved by the Senate labor committee, the task of making more flexible the procedures in starting work, including modification of the rigid objectives specified in the existing provisions, taking into account the special features of some geographical areas and the varying composition of the unemployment elements, especially the youth;

B) Expansion of opportunity to resort to forms of part-time labor and also fixed term employment, which respond to temporary or seasonal increases, while giving workers so hired the right of precedence in case of regular hiring by the same company;

C) On an experimental basis, for 1983, the authority for individual hiring of youth for a fixed term for training purposes, as well as up to 50 percent of the number of applications of all workers, including those on the mobility lists;

D) Need to redefine the legislative process on intercompany mobility, again in accordance with the principles specified in the category contracts;

E) Pending a systematic measures to revise the provisions on compulsory hiring, the government will propose to Parliament urgent legislative measures to correct, with immediate effect, a number of identified difficulties in application;

F) Establishment, in experimental areas, of public bodies provided with adequate financial resources and functional and organizational autonomy that will be able to make use of individuals with professional specialties, and also to hire on private, fixed-term contracts; these bodies will be given appropriate review services in the labor market;

G) Establishment of maximum periods for benefiting from unemployment fund payments, with phased reductions, to coincide with introduction of the mobility procedures of the new system;

H) Loss of the right to exceptional or special case unemployment fund payments in case of refusal to accept a vocationally equivalent job or, in the absence of such a job, employment temporarily in socially useful projects while remaining on the mobility or unemployment lists, or employment in jobs with equivalency, including intercategorical, particularly as regards pay levels;

I) Provision in the industrial planning laws for a joint review--on request of the union organizations of workers--of the effects on employment of the

restructuring and technological innovation processes, including effects on work schedules and work organization.

#### Absenteeism

10) With the purpose of taking concrete measures to meet the problem of absenteeism, the following steps will be taken at the legislative, administrative and contractual levels;

--Reorganization of the checks under the National Institute of Social Insurance [INPS]—Health Department agreements so that they can be carried out within the day of request, even if Sunday or a holiday;

--Preparation by the INPS offices of special lists of doctors to be assigned to the checks, to which companies can also refer;

--Rapid handling, including telephone, of the request for the check visit and assignment to staff, including nondoctor, on the USL [expansion unknown] for checks preliminary to the doctor visit;

--For extended or recurring absenteeism, joint visits to public polyclinics for specific examinations at company request;

--For general phenomena, periodic examination of special situations at the factory level and ultimately further examinations at the national level, with involvement of the local health organizations;

--Obligation of availability during the "work periods" on the pattern of the textile contract;

--Obligation for the worker of immediate return to the company in case of unjustified nonavailability.

#### Work Schedule

11) With the aim of producing work schedules that better accord with production needs, the parties will agree, in category renewals, on provisions that provide more intensive plant utilization, an increase in effective yield from the contractual work schedule, as well as criteria for greater flexibility in work schedules that can be introduced at the factory level.

Another issue to be tackled will be the distribution of annual holidays, involving in this respect the concerned bodies at regional and national levels, in order to study the related problems.

The contract renewals will provide for a reduction in working hours of 20 hours per year in the second half of 1984 and an additional 20 hours per year in the first half of 1985.

The contract renewals will specify the procedures and implementation times of the hour reductions for industrial sectors and categories and special work

schedules. This reduction will be absorbed through shorter existing schedules at the company level, with the exception of pay granted specifically for hazardous work.

With the purpose of limiting recourse to unemployment benefits and to provide more rational use of manpower, for reductions in work schedule that may be carried out at company level in situations of excess personnel, the reduction hours can be compensated at a reduced rate to be established in the collective contracts and with temporary assistance of the unemployment benefit fund payments up to a proportion of 50 percent of the amount paid by the company. The government undertakes to present to Parliament a measure providing that, if reductions in work schedules are agreed on at company level along with related hiring of new personnel, especially of young people, there be provision for special incentives, including possible decreases in payroll taxes.

#### Solidarity Fund

12) The government undertakes to arrange a meeting with the social parties to prepare the establishing instruments for a solidarity fund to support employment, sustained by a portion of pay improvements equal to 0.5 percent of pay, consistent with the provisions of the collective contracts.

#### Company-Level Contract Negotiation

13) With the purpose of helping to eliminate the causes of disputes at the microlevel, the categories can plan company procedures to settle differences in implementing contracts and possibly joint arbitration with cool-down intervals.

The contract negotiation at company level cannot concern subjects already dealt with at other negotiation levels.

#### Duration of Contracts

14) In view of the exceptional nature of the situation, the category contracts will have a duration of not less than 3½ years from the expiration date of the previous contract.

#### Statement on measures relating to compulsory hiring.

With reference to point 9, letter E, the government will take the following administrative and legislative measures:

--Postponement of compulsory hiring for companies in a crisis and reorganization situation;

--Count, for purpose of the compulsory rate, persons with recognized work-connected disablement;

--Suspension of the possibility for shifting;

--Oversight, by the concerned insurance and relief institutions, of tenure and the details of the condition giving rise to invalidation of the hiring action.

#### Attachment 1

The united union federation and the minister of finance met, accompanied by their technical advisers, at the Finance Ministry in order to develop the new structure for the personal tax on income rates, deductions, and brackets within the context of the overall comparison of labor costs and inflation.

Agreement was reached on the following:

- A) A new structure of rates that, taking as the basis the Formica project, includes--among other improvements--elimination of the tax drain in respect to the projected inflation rate for employees for 1983;
- B) A new structure of deductions for family expenses that provides a significant improvement for single-income families;
- C) A new structure of deductions for expenditures for income production and lowering of rates for the lowest incomes, in order to better protect employees with lowest incomes;
- D) For the purpose of achieving an adequate solution to the problem of family allowances, the Finance Ministry, effective as of mid-1983, has assured a further 350 billion in addition to the 6,850 billion already planned for the government commitments, which together with some internal corrections in the family income tax restructuring program will make available an overall total of 650 billion [figures as published] for this purpose in 1983;
- E) Also planned are mechanisms for automatic adjustment of the deductions for production expenditures, of the further deductions for employees, and of the deductions for family expenses for 1984 in relation to the predicted inflation rate and the related tax drain on employee incomes;

<u>Brackets</u> <u>(millions)</u>	<u>Rates</u>
0 - 11	18
11 - 24	27
24 - 38	36
38 - 60	41
60 - 120	47
120 - 250	56
250 - 500	62
500 and over	65

Deductions:

Exempt portion : 96,000 up to 10 million  
36,000 over 10 million

Income production expenses: 250,000 for all employees

Further deductions for : 324,000 up to 9 million  
employees 276,000 from 9 to 10 million  
156,000 from 10 million to 12 million  
84,000 from 12 to 15 million  
60,000 from 15 to 16 million

Family burdens and personal: 18,000  
expenses dependent spouse  
(income less than 1.35 : 240,000  
million)

Dependent children : 18,000 Under the current plan this will  
(each child) be effective as of 1 January 1983  
legislation pending

Loss of revenue : 6.55 trillion

The Finance Ministry undertakes to support this program in the government and Parliament, within the context of solution of the problems relating to labor cost and inflation that are currently under discussion.

Attachment 2

A combined allowance to be paid in 1983, pending the current legislation, and addition to the present allowances for family burdens, for dependent children not over 18 adjusted according to the level of family income and the number of dependent children, based on the following table:

Taxable family income 1982		1 child	2 children	3 children	4 or more
annual		monthly amount	monthly amount	monthly amount	monthly amount
up to:	8.000.000	45.000	90.000	135.000	180.000
"	9.000.000	39.000	82.000	127.000	171.000
"	10.000.000	33.000	74.000	119.000	162.000
"	11.000.000	27.000	66.000	111.000	153.000
"	12.000.000	21.000	58.000	103.000	144.000
"	13.000.000	15.000	50.000	95.000	135.000
"	14.000.000		42.000	87.000	126.000
"	15.000.000		34.000	79.000	117.000
"	16.000.000		26.000	71.000	108.000
"	17.000.000		20.000	55.000	99.000
"	18.000.000		15.000	39.000	90.000
"	19.000.000			23.000	81.000
"	20.000.000			15.000	72.000
"	21.000.000				54.000
"	22.000.000				36.000
"	23.000.000				15.000

In the context of the general draft agreement on issues concerning limitation of labor cost and support for employee income, and secondarily the achievement of a general understanding, as on the already mentioned individual points, there is agreement on the following:

- 1) Beginning with the pay period in progress on 1 July 1983, an allowance combining family allowances will be paid as well as supplementary family amounts for children under 18, and equalized for children under terms of article 38 of Presidential Decree 26/4/1957 No 818, for employees in service activity or on pension or in retirement, or who are receiving social security services entitling them to family allowances. This expenditure, which will come under the state budget, is estimated at 650 billion liras for 1983.
- 2) The amount of the combined allowance will vary in relation to taxable family income for purposes of the personal income tax for the preceding year, and the number of minor dependent children under 18, as in the attached table.
- 3) The incomes of the married couple and the dependent children will be included in determining family income.
- 4) Also included in family income will be various income from employment, or social security services based on employment; the latter must be not less than 70 percent of the family income, as defined above.
- 5) The worker is responsible for confirming every year the continuation of the conditions entitling him to the combined allowance by making the appropriate documented statement in accordance with the procedures prescribed by the law.

#### Attachment 3

In health assistance, the government pledges to propose to Parliament the following measures to hold down the burden on laboratories.

A) Medicines

- 1) Expansion of the range of medicines exempt from Ticket pending classification of the specific categories of medicines within the framework of the guidance developed during negotiation (survivorship; long-duration illness; chronic illness; and particularly serious pathologies).
- 2) Raising of the income bracket giving entitlement to Ticket exemption to 4.5 million liras plus the cited increase to employees and pensioners, in accordance with the new social pension measures (to apply also to diagnostic examinations).
- 3) Limiting of the revenue through Ticket under the current system, i.e. setting the Ticket on medicines within the limit of 15 percent.
- 4) Establishment of a maximum Ticket payment of 20,000 liras per prescription.

B) Equipment and Laboratory Diagnostic Examinations

- 1) Limitation of the increase in Ticket to within amounts close to the combined rate of inflation.
- 2) Increase in the maximum Ticket payment to 20,000 liras per single prescription and to 50,000 for multiple prescription.

C) Industrial Accidents and Occupational Illnesses

Exemption of payment for Ticket on medicines and on diagnostic examinations for industrial accident and occupation illness employees.

The union organizations will meet with the minister of health to check on the overall trend of health expenditure and the related limiting measures.

The government undertakes to keep the average weighted annual increase in rates, administered prices and supervised prices to within the limit of 13 percent for 1983. Also, it will call periodic meetings to examine the trend of the aforementioned indicators to confirm adherence to the commitment and to set the objectives and commitments for 1984.

In regard to the electricity rates in particular, the government will apply, after checking with the union organizations, an easing of increases for the social category of domestic users, without affecting the ENEL investment program.

The government undertakes, in respect to urban transport, to present to Parliament, within the framework of the local finance practices, introduction of special tickets, and to introduce types of tickets for special rate and use for railway transport. In setting the relative rates and issuing procedures, the competent bodies must check with the union organization with major representation on the national level.

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CSO: 3528/195

## CGIL-CISL-UIL'S 7-POINT PROGRAM FOR HEALTH, PENSION REFORMS

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 30 Aug 83 p 14

[Article: "A Real Reorganization of the Social Security System Remains Indispensable for Labor"]

[Text] The seven points of the United Federation CGIL-CISL-UIL "platform" calls for the separation of health services and the social security system and the restructuring of INPS [National Insurance Institute for Occupational Injuries].

The United Federation CGIL-CISL-UIL believes that the reorganization of the pension and social security system, hindered for these past few years, must be confronted with absolute priority; therefore, on the eve of the electoral campaign they reopened the unions' long document on social security addressed to the incumbent government and to all the parties of the constitutional arc. In a preceding letter Lama, Carniti, and Benvenuto asked the political forces to take a stand on this platform, declaring that the central and suburban workers' organizations were considering using it as a rallying point significant for the autumn recovery. Only three parties responded to the invitation, namely the PCI, PSI, and PLI (the latter "confessing" in its text to not having even read the document).

This without a doubt is the platform under which the unions will act in their next encounter with the socialist minister of labor, Gianni De Michelis. Consequently it is worth the effort to focus upon the principal points, in order then to determine the levels and the mode of negotiations which will emerge from them. According to the criterion set forth in the text, the United Federation CGIL-CISL-UIL thereby will arrive at their verdict on the years elapsed since the "historic" but unimplemented agreement for pension reform they concluded with Scotti [the minister of labor and social security] in 1979. "Practically all the measures adopted in recent years have been stop-gap solutions to obtain savings which, in fact, have not come about and consequently have managed further to complicate the already complex regulatory situation. That which above all has been lacking is the capability, or the willingness, to establish an objective which would go beyond solving incidental problems."

## Financial Recovery

The first decision required, say the unions, is the separation of health services and social security. In this way there would be recognized the services aspect of measures such as the minimum wage supplements, thereby separating two areas, one a charge against production and the other a responsibility of the budget. Unemployment compensation and the wage supplemental fund are correctly regarded as support [mechanisms] for production. All of this, asserts the United Federation, cannot be achieved through the simple transfer of obligations from the worker and dependents' fund to the state, but rather through a review of the criteria for the assignment of such benefits.

The proposals resulting from the above are:

For the wage supplemental fund "scaled benefits" should be provided;

for disability pensions a new law should be approved linking the pension to objective criteria;

for minimum wage supplement there should be a relationship to the ceilings on earnings in order to recognize the truly needy;

for financial administration it is essential to separate the various pension funds in relation to the type of work and the nature of benefits.

Finally, financial recovery cannot be achieved without a concerted campaign against evasion of contributions. These are the proposals: a uniform assessment of contributions also encompassing the INAIL [National Insurance Institute for Occupational Injuries] and SCAU [expansion unknown]; review of the regulations which effectively encourage underground work (for example, combinations of pensions and salaries); and raising the compensatory minimums to the level of the contractual minimum wages by sector.

## Unification of Pension Regulations

"Gradually and with firmest respect for acquired rights" uniformity shall be achieved "with the specific objective of overcoming the present differentials in benefits and contributions." The pension regulations, assert the United Federation, should be completely unified for all workers hired on or after 1 January 1984, regardless of productive sector. The unified system will reflect that of the FPLD [expansion unknown] in INPS, because it is "less burdensome" and because it already applies to 12,500,000 workers.

As for the retirement age the unions propose the gradual standardization at 60 years for women, with the option of extending to 65 years in case they have 40 years of contributions. Higher retirement ages remain unchanged. Early retirements may be granted only for "strenuous activity," with uniform contributions the responsibility of employers and established by appropriate regulation.

For the calculations of pensions, the retirement compensation should be adjusted, the unions state, to the "average of the five best annual salaries of the last 10 years, adjusted according to applicable criteria." Illness and accidents are included but not overtime earnings which exceed 5 hours weekly. The United Federation recommends regulations which preclude "inflated" pensions through the cumulative effect of multiple salaries.

For combinations of pensions and other earnings it is proposed that the deduction against the pension be limited to 50 percent of the part exceeding double the minimum pension.

Finally, for the ceiling on pension compensation there is suggested an "appropriate increase."

#### Uniformity of Benefits

To prepare for achieving uniformity in the regulations for the newly-hired, all agencies should agree on certain features.

Assessments, if less, should all be raised to 7.15 percent of salaries, as is now the case for those presently insured by the INPS, taking into consideration possible greater contributions for health and for severance pay.

Early retirement, for those who have not yet qualified, will be improved, taking into account the seniority compiled in relation to the difference from that required by INPS (35 years) and the others (15, 20 and 25 years).

Combinations will be adjusted to the new regulatory system.

The INPS ceiling will be extended to all the other systems.

#### Wage Supplemental Benefits

"What is needed," according to the United Federation is "a restructuring of the regulations relating to the wage supplemental funds" which will permit the implementation of benefits chosen and administered by the workers, without having the wage supplemental benefits combine to create a taxable obligation.

#### Automatic Adjustment

To combat the present erosion, the unions state, there should be found a more general solution as part of the adjustment of salaries to the cost of living.

However, inasmuch as the basic salary trend will be calculated on the trend of compensation in all productive sectors, average and weighted, applied to the full pension, while the mechanism will be corrected which currently makes deductions from the two indices, cost of living and salary trends, to obtain the percentage of increase, following the agreement on the cost of labor this calculation becomes untenable.

For the automatic wage indexation system the United Federation proposes that the automatic pay increases be of the same number and in the same month as for active workers; and that the cumulative increase from automatic equalization not exceed the increase in the cost of living by more than 50 percent; and that for middle and higher pensions it guarantee at least 75 percent.

#### Readjustment of Pensions

While admitting that many proposals for the readjustment of pensions have an ulterior and demagogic aspect, the United Federation proposes to readjust the benefits for certain well-defined groups of pensioners:

(a) Civil service: For those who have a pension prior to 1 January 1978, based on at least 30 years of active service (or of service and/or disability) excluding anyone who may already have obtained special benefits (e.g., veterans or managers).

(b) Workers of the INPS fund: The gradual attrition of those workers eligible for retirement with at least 781 actual weeks (15 years) of contributions; the readjustment of old-age pensions effective prior to 1 May 1968 and with 781 actual weekly contributions.

#### Reorganization of INPS

Autonomy of INPS, separate management of the various funds, uniformity extended to all categories, separate accountability for the social fund, abolition of appeals at the second level, new responsibilities for the regional bodies; these are the highlights of the reform of INPS advocated by the unions. In addition, the latter propose that controls be simplified, while legislation on social security should be limited. Uniform texts and a parliamentary oversight committee for the social security agencies should replace the present conglomeration of regulations and of institutions responsible to the INPS. Finally they propose the participation of the labor organizations in the consulting parliamentary committees whenever eventual assignments are under consideration.

12406

CSO: 3528/193

## EBSO HEAD SEES FAILED ECONOMIC GOALS, INCREASING CRISIS

Istanbul MILLI GAZETE in Turkish 2 Oct 83 p 4

[Text] Aegean Region Chamber of Industry [EBSO] chairman Ersin Faralyali stated that because of the money squeeze that has hit the market, he is concerned that a social and economic crisis will arise.

In a speech EBSO chairman Faralyali gave to the monthly meeting of the association assembly he repeated his view that the announced export goal for Turkey for 1983 cannot be reached.

Faralyali pointed out that at the beginning of 1983, the export goal had been set at seven billion dollars and later officials stated that they would be content with six billion dollars. Faralyali said, "However, the central bank has not come forth with the export credits financing that we have long pressed for so insistently to enable us to reach this goal and here in the last quarter of 1983, they are indicating that our exports will be less than six billion dollars."

EBSO chairman Ersin Faralyali noted that there was a tight money situation in the market and he said the following:

"It should be taken into account that to restrict the loans that banks can make compared to their assets and to cut the rediscount credits that had been agreed upon at the central bank means not only to retard our exports, but, because of the money squeeze it creates at the same time in the marketplace, it heightens the social and economic crisis.

12280

CSO 3554/30

## PORT OF IZMIR REGISTERS DOWNTURN IN EXPORT ACTIVITY

Istanbul MILLI GAZETE in Turkish 2 Oct 83 p 4

[Text] Izmir's annual share of Turkey's general exports has fallen by two percent. The primary cause for this drop is that cities like Malatya, Gaziantep, Trabazon, Konya and Mersin have begun to become more proficient at exporting.

Information gathered by a THA [Turkish News Agency] representative from a study on the subject by the Izmir Chamber of Commerce, shows that although there has been an increase in Izmir's quantitative total of Turkish exports--which have grown dramatically in recent years--Izmir's percentage of that total has fallen. In 1980, from general exports of 2.91 billion dollars, Izmir's share was 709,503,000 dollars or 24.3 percent, in 1981 however, that percentage had dropped to 22.4.

According to these figures, Izmir has seen a drop of about two percent in the annual share of general exports from Turkey.

The Izmir Chamber of Commerce report indicates that among the reasons instrumental in the percentage rate drop are: the rise in the export shares of other cities; the effect of measures implemented by the EEC; the abandonment of the clearing system in exports to socialist countries and the increase of fund quantities in some export goods.

According to the report, the major factor in the two percent drop in Izmir's share of Turkey's exports, is the growth in the share held by other cities such as Malatya, Gaziantep, Trabzon, Konya and Mersin.

12280

CSO 3554/30

## ULAGAY ON CASE FOR INCREASED WAGES, COEFFICIENT

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 3 Oct 83 p 9

["Economy Notes" column by Osman Ulagay: "Debate on Additional Wage Increases and the Coefficient"]

[Text] Should workers and salaried employees receive additional wage increases or not? Where must the [civil servants' pay scale] coefficient--which can provide civil servants with wage increases--stand?

Everyone has been giving different answers, depending on his viewpoint, to these questions which have been on the nation's debate agenda in recent weeks. One can see proposals aimed at "winning points" intermingled with sincere wishes and demands.

As this many-sided debate continues, we think that there is merit in reiterating certain points:

1. The workers and the civil servants were indisputably the ones who felt in their daily lives what belt-tightening means and who paid the cost of the economic stability programs that have been implemented in recent years. Wages and salaries, which are supposedly adjusted for inflation, have, in reality, remained behind the inflation rate and their purchasing power has declined. As a result, workers who did not have any savings in reserve have had to cut back on their consumption, meaning that the standard of living of this segment of society has declined. Those who had small amounts of savings tried to stay where they were using high interest rates paid by brokers, but after watching their entire savings disappear they are now keeping track of the liquidation commissions.

2. There are also small and big businessmen whose businesses went awry, who lost their sleep and who came to the brink of bankruptcy as a result of the economic policies that have been implemented in recent years. However, the fact that their businesses have gone bad, particularly in the case of well-established businessmen, has not had any impact on their consumption and lifestyle. The businessman whose business is not doing too well is able to forget his grief by going on a yacht trip in the Aegean or by taking a relaxation trip to Europe. Smaller business owners are able to maintain their standard of living at a certain level by cutting back on their expenses for luxury entertainment places or, in the worst case, by drawing on their savings.

3. This situation leaves the principle of "national sacrifice" up in the air; the real sacrifice is made by the workers and the civil servants. In order to hold the balance that is increasingly tilting against workers and civil servants who are sinking lower on the income scale, this social segment must be given an income boost that is substantially above the inflation rate. From this viewpoint, proposals advocating additional wage increases and raising the pay scale coefficient to more than 40 are fully "justified", and everyone who speaks about social justice must support these proposals.

4. The additional wage increases to be granted to workers and civil servants, who have had to cut back on their most basic consumption items, will naturally be spent on consumer goods. The boost that such a development will give to domestic demand will help the reopening of industrial installations, which are one-third idle at present, and will therefore have little aggravating effect on inflation. If the additional wage increases to be granted to workers and civil servants are spent on industries such as housing construction, then not only will inflationary pressures be very limited, but also a locomotive sector will receive a major boost and unemployment will be reduced. On the other hand, a revived domestic market will inevitably have a negative effect on our foreign trade balance.

5. The supporting thesis of those who oppose additional wage increases and a reasonable raise in the pay scale coefficient is rooted in the essence of the system. Crisis-solving recipes that have been fashionable in the capitalist world in recent years all hinge on the sacrifices of wage and salary earners. Even countries like France and Spain where socialist governments are in power have endorsed the belief that it would not be realistic to veer too far off this general course. As long as Turkey tries to keep its economy balanced and to win sympathy from foreigners, those who oppose any deviations from this recipe also seem to be justified from their own viewpoint.

Now that we stated these points, we ask: Should there be additional wage increases or not? Should the coefficient stay at 39 or should it go up to 41? What do you think?

9588

CSO: 3554/25

## FOREIGN CAPITAL BILL ENVISIONS REGULATORY COMMISSION

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 3 Oct 83 p 5

[Text] Ankara--The drafting of the Foreign Capital Bill has been completed. The bill was sent to the Office of the Prime Minister after being finalized by the Foreign Economic Relations Committee which is headed by Minister of State Sermet Refik Pasin and is comprised of the ministers of Industry and Technology, Customs and Monopoly, Finance and Commerce.

According to YANKI magazine, the new draft bill, which is largely inspired by the "Framework Decree on Foreign Capital" issued on 24 January 1980, authorizes the Foreign Capital Department of the Office of the Prime Minister to regulate the entry of foreign capital investments of less than \$50 million. Larger foreign capital entries will be subject to the decision of the Council of Ministers.

The new bill envisions equal treatment for domestic and foreign capital. By stipulating that organizations which were subject to the old law will remain subject to the same commercial, juridicial, administrative and financial laws and regulations as Turkish firms and that, in addition, no special formalities and commitments will be required from such organizations, the new bill reinforces the principle of equality.

The new bill expands the old law's provision that during the transfer of foreign company shares abroad the transfer should be conducted in the currency of the company's home country and makes possible the use of any foreign currency in such transfers.

The new bill also revises the standard of fair prices in the transfer of profits or foreign capital abroad. The new bill introduces a favorable arrangement for situations where an organization subject to the Foreign Capital Law is liquidated and the money is transferred abroad. In such situations, the selling price of the company will be the price agreed on by the sides concerned. However, in the event it is found out that the quoted price is not based on good will, the Office of the Prime Minister or an authority to be appointed by that office will decide on a fair price. If there is a stock market for the securities being sold, the stock market price will be used as the price basis.

9588

CSO: 3554/25

## STRATEGY FOR BOOST IN CIVIL SERVICE COEFFICIENT

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 2 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] It has been announced that 12 billion lira will be needed to raise the civil service coefficient to 41 from the 39 called for in the 1984 fiscal year budget bill.

In the Consultative Assembly Budget Planning Commission, a high commission was established for the purpose of raising the coefficient. During its initial inquiry, the high commission, composed of Cemil Cakmakli, Necmettin Narlioglu and Cahit Tutum, discovered that to raise the coefficient to 40 or 41, "at least 12 billion lira would be necessary."

The high commission, which took into account the views of other members of the Budget Planning Committee, determined that it would be practical to draw on the following sources for the necessary funds for the coefficient:

--Ministries that are not of strategic importance or are not other primary ministries take a two percent cut in their budgets;

--Increase domestic borrowing.

Cemil Cakmakli, whom we approached for information on the subject, told us the following:

"We, as the high commission, spoke with all our associates and we asked which sources would have to be tapped in order for the coefficient to be increased. In the talks we have had to date, the idea of raising domestic borrowing and of making two percent cuts in the budgets of some ministries have predominated. We are continuing to hold discussions. In the near future, as the high commission, we will decide on a coefficient of 40 or 41 and we will prepare our report. Hence the report will be taken up when the Finance Ministry budget is addressed. I believe that the Budget Planning Committee's civil servant coefficient will be raised at least a little bit."

Finance Ministry officials did not express an opinion on raising the coefficient. However, they did say that the number given in the draft bill was "the most reasonable."

In this regard, Finance Minister Secretary Sadiklar, in a speech he made when submitting the budget to the commission, drew attention to the sources for the coefficient and confined himself to pointing out that it will not be possible to come up with more than what had been planned for.

In the upcoming week, much attention will be paid to the way in which the coefficient will be taken up in the Budget Planning Committee. The majority of the committee members say that they "undoubtedly will raise the coefficient."

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CSO 3554/30

## OVERVIEW OF TURKISH OIL PIPELINE CONSTRUCTION

Istanbul MILLI GAZETE in Turkish 27 Sep 83 p 4

[Text] Turkey's crude oil pumping capacity will reach 43.5 million metric tons [a year] with the completion of the Yumurtalik-Kirikkale crude oil pipeline.

According to a study conducted by the Turkish News Agency correspondent on the basis of information provided by the Turkish Petroleum Corporation [TPAO], currently, the Batman-Dortyol crude oil pipeline has a pumping capacity of 3.5 million metric tons. However, even when the Turkish-Iraqi pipeline is operating at full capacity, only 1.5 million metric tons of oil is being pumped through the Batman-Dortyol pipeline. Stating that work has begun on increasing the carrying capacity of the Turkish-Iraqi pipeline, officials said that the Yumurtalik-Kirikkale pipeline which is currently under construction, together with the Batman-Dortyol and the Turkish-Iraqi pipelines, will be able to meet the country's needs until 1993.

At present, Turkey has 1,299 kilometers of oil pipeline. The longest one is the the Turkish-Iraqi pipeline, while the Batman-Dortyol pipeline ranks second.

Turkey's longest existing pipeline, the Turkish-Iraqi pipeline, is 981 kilometers long, of which 340 kilometers lie in Iraq.

Among the goals of a 10-year transportation master plan is the construction of 854 kilometers of new oil pipelines, which will thus raise Turkey's installed pipelines to 2,153 kilometers. The planned crude oil and processed product pipelines are:

--The Yumurtalik-Kirikkale crude oil pipeline will be 450 kilometers in length and 24 inches in diameter. The pipeline is expected to be completed in 1986.

--The OAR [Central Anatolia Refinery]-Ankara (Ahiboz) processed product pipeline will be 63 kilometers in length and 14 inches in diameter. This pipeline will carry refined products from the OAR to Afyon and Eskisehir.

--The OAR-Aksaray processed product pipeline will be 144 kilometers in length and 10 inches in diameter. This pipeline will carry refined products from the OAR to Konya, Nigde, Nevsehir and Kayseri.

--The Aliaga-Izmir-Salihli-Nazilli pipeline will be 197 kilometers in length. The pipeline's 49-kilometer portion between Aliaga and Izmir will be 12 inches

and the rest will be 8 inches in diameter. The pipeline has been targeted for completion in 1984. The pipeline will carry refined products from the Aliaga Refinery to Izmir, Manisa, Usak, Aydin and Denizli.

Meanwhile, it was disclosed that work is continuing on the project that will raise the refining capacity of TPAO's Izmir refinery to 10 million metric tons a year.

Refinery officials told the Anatolia Agency correspondent that their current refining capacity is 4.6 million metric tons a year and that the work to expand their capacity will be completed in 1985.

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CSO: 3554/22

## PALET'S URUNDUL ON PREREQUISITES FOR DAM CONSTRUCTION

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 3 Oct 83 p 7

[Interview with Palet Construction Company part-owner Sedat Urundul]

[Excerpt] Who is Sedat Urundul?

Sedat Urundul, one of the partners in the Palet Construction Company, was born in 1919. After finishing high school in Istanbul he graduated from the Civil Engineering department of the Istanbul Technical University. Urundul did not serve in any government position except as a draftee in the army. After graduating from the university, Urundul served as site engineer, chief site engineer and chief administrative engineer in various contracting firms before setting up his own company.

DUNYA: Honorable Urundul, could you brief us about the machines and equipment needed for the construction of the Ataturk Dam, which is expected to take 10 years?

Urundul: As you noted, this project will extend over a 10-year period. By the end of that time the machines that will be used in this project will be worth nothing. In other words, by the time the project is completed the machines used will no longer be functional. Even so, some machinery owned by our group--which consists of three firms--will be used in the project for approximately one and a half years until new machines are imported.

DUNYA: You are saying that part of your machinery stock will be used in the construction of the dam for about one and a half years. Will those machines be adequate on their own?

Urundul: Yes, they will be adequate. Because in such construction projects, the work to be done in the first few years does not require a large stock of machinery. For example, currently another contracting company is building the dam's drainage tunnels. Primary filling work cannot begin until these tunnels are completed. These tunnels have been contracted to be completed by the end of 1984. That is, the tunnels will become operational in the beginning of 1985 and only then will work requiring large machines get under way. Consequently, as I stated before, even part of our machinery will be adequate for the work in the first one to one and a half years.

DUNYA: Honorable Urundul, you referred to importing some machinery. If I am not wrong, some construction machinery is manufactured domestically in Turkey. Are you not contemplating using domestic-made machinery?

Urundul: That is out of the question. Basically, the machines we will be using in building this dam are very special pieces of equipment. In fact, the machines we will be using are manufactured by only a few large firms in the entire world and it is only recently that they have begun to be used in projects of this type. For example, Caterpillar makes a bulldozer called the D-10 that has been in use for only 2 or 3 years. We have nothing comparable to the D-10 in Turkey. There are other very large pieces of construction equipment that are impossible to manufacture in Turkey. However, we also need small pieces, and we will use domestic-made machines for such needs. But, I state again, we will buy the major portion of our machines from abroad.

DUNYA: Your group won the contract for building the Ataturk Dam with a bid of 102.8 billion Turkish liras. However, as you probably know yourself, it was extensively reported in the press that this dam will cost 1 trillion Turkish liras. Can you give us an estimate of the final cost of this project when it is completed?

Urundul: It is impossible to predict how much the dam will cost by the time it is completed. The work that we have contracted is the construction portion of the project. The cost of the turbines that will produce power is not included in our figure. In the course of 10 years, the cost of the construction of the dam will naturally be pushed up by inflation, and the government will calculate and pay the difference. To be sure, if the work we contracted could be finished in 1983, our bid of 102 billion Turkish liras would be a valid figure. However, the well-known changes in the cost of materials and labor will affect the cost of the construction of the dam over the years, and, consequently, the cost of construction of the dam will probably rise to over 500 billion Turkish liras by 1994, which is the targeted completion date for the construction part of the dam. We hope that the inflation rate will be kept to a minimum during the time of the construction.

DUNYA: Do you really believe that this dam can be completed in 10 years?

Urundul: Yes, we are hopeful. Because we have learned from other dams we have built that even the smallest dam cannot be completed in less than 4 years. However, there is no rule that says construction time must increase with the size of the project. Still, as I have said in previous statements, we cannot be held responsible for delays caused by the administration. For example, the necessary land must be bought by the government on time, the necessary foreign currency allocations must be made on time and, most importantly, the drainage channels must be completed by the end of 1984, which is the targeted completion date. In addition, though it may seem inconsequential to many, the government must make its payments on time.

DUNYA: The adequacy of your financial standing is as important as the government's punctuality in making payments to maintain a healthy cash flow rate and to keep the construction of the dam free from financial problems. Can elaborate on this issue please?

Urundul: Our own resources form the basis of our financial power. To give you an example of our own financial resources, we will, for example, cover the initial contracting expenses of this project--which amount to 1.1 billion Turkish liras--from our own resources. However, the contract stipulates that after we start working on the project we must be advanced some money. Therefore, we can complete this project without any financial problems whatsoever depending on how punctually those advance payments are made. If there are delays in payments, as I mentioned before, we can compensate for part of them through banks which support us and with which we have been doing business for years. However, if we encounter delays that last longer than, say, three months, then we will naturally have difficulties.

DUNYA: Honorable Urundul, you said that the machines to be used in the construction project will primarily be imported from abroad. Are you planning to contact foreign banks on financing these purchases? Or, are our national banks strong enough to provide adequate financing?

Urundul: [Contacting foreign banks] will not be necessary. Because the government has already earmarked \$200 million in foreign currency for the purchase of machinery necessary for this project. On the other hand, if a foreign firm had won the contract for the Ataturk Dam, it would have to procure its own financing.

DUNYA: Your firm was not so well known by the public until you won this contract.

Urundul: The reason for that was that our group shuns high-profile publicity. I as well as the owners of the two other firms which form our group are not ostentatious in character. Our basic principle is to live within the limits of our resources. There is an appropriate saying: "We cook in the pan and eat out of the cover." We have been in the contracting business for many years. Although Palet Construction has a history of only 17 years, we were involved in very large projects before that. However, let me say one thing: Though we are not very well known to the public and the press, government agencies for which we have done work know us very well. These agencies include the State Water Works Administration, the Highways Directorate General, the Railways Harbors and Airfields Construction Directorate General and the Ministry of Public Works. We have never left uncompleted any project we have undertaken and we have never had conflicts with any of the agencies we have dealt with. However, the truth is that the Ataturk Dam project gave us a lot of publicity.

DUNYA: Honorable Urundul, the most important factor in your winning this contract was the low price you bid. However, there was a considerable difference between your group's bid, which was the lowest, and the highest bid. How would you comment on that?

Urundul: As is known, certain disputes arose from the outset between the government and bidding firms over the issue of wherewithal certificates. Following a second investigation concerning these certificates, some additional firms were issued wherewithal certificates. There was even a third investigation following which a partnership consisting of Enka and an American firm was also issued a certificate. Finally, a total of 15 local and foreign firms were issued wherewithal certificates.

One of these firms, the Fevzi Akkaya-Sezai Turkes firm, dropped out before the bidding started. Therefore 14 firms were left to bid. However, on the day the bids were submitted, there were only six firms left. Among these six groups one was a partnership between a foreign and a Turkish firm. If you notice the lowest three bids were very close to each other. Then there was a gap. But the highest bid came from the partnership between the foreign and Turkish firms. That, in my opinion, clearly shows that foreign firms cannot compete with local companies in work to be done in Turkey. I heard that the Turkish firm in this partnership proposed a lower bid, but the American partner raised the bid. Consequently, it would be wrong to compare the highest-bidding firms with the lowest bidders. My yardstick in such matters is: Was there anyone who bid close to what we bid? You can see from the figures that the lowest three bids were very close to each other.

DUNYA: Some of the firms that bid on this dam project bought banks. Are you also planning to acquire a similar financing institution?

Urundul: No, that is absolutely unnecessary. I do not think that the purchase of a bank by one of the bidders on the dam project was going to be used as a means of easing cash flow problems. The owner of the group which bought the bank has already stated that the move was related to bids on overseas projects.

DUNYA: Does your firm or any of the firms in your group have an ongoing work commitment at home or abroad?

Urundul: Palet Construction does not have any ongoing projects abroad. But one of our partners, Enerji-Su, has an ongoing commitment in Libya. At home, we are currently building the Kokluce hydroelectric power station and drainage tunnel in Niksar for the State Water Works Administration. That project is expected to cost approximately 3 billion Turkish liras in current terms. Although the project is small in size it requires advanced technology.

DUNYA: Does the construction of the Ataturk Dam have any aspects that may require the use of special technologies?

Urundul: No. The Ataturk Dam project is truly a monumental piece of work. However, it does not require special technologies. Furthermore, it is not a project that may pose too many difficulties. Given a good and sound organization, it should be fairly easy to accomplish this project.

DUNYA: According to what we frequently read from press reports, the construction work on the dam will require nearly 10,000 workers. Are you really planning to use such a large work force?

Urundul: I also heard those rumors. However, according to our estimates, the work force to be employed will not exceed 3,000 to 4,000 even at times when the work proceeds at full steam.

DUNYA: Honorable Urundul, the building of dams like the Ataturk Dam on rivers like the Euphrates and Tigris, which have their headwaters in our country but which irrigate neighboring countries before flowing into the sea, has become an issue of debate at the international level. In particular, Iraq started a

debate on this issue on international forums. Is it really likely that a dam of this type can hurt Iraq?

Urundul: No, it is not likely. However, it is a fact that we could not get the credit we wanted from the World Bank for this project as a result of pressures exerted by Iraq on this organization. That is why Turkey will have to complete this project by its own means. In any event, it is hardly possible to justify Iraq's doubts regarding the construction of a dam like the Ataturk Dam. Because, once the dam is filled with the water needed to start producing electricity, the water will go on to irrigate Iraq through its usual path.

DUNYA: Our country has been emphasizing generally large dam projects. Rather than building large dams like the Ataturk Dam, would it not be more beneficial to build smaller and lower-cost dams which could go into production in less time? Furthermore, uneven weather conditions in our country sometimes make the filling of such large dams difficult. What do you think about this issue?

Urundul: The Ataturk Dam will probably be affected by seasonal conditions like all other dams. However, falling water levels is not a phenomenon that occurs every year in Keban or the other large dams in our country. Such unfavorable weather conditions are not encountered every year. Furthermore, I do not think that time and cost are very important factors in comparing large and small dams. The principal yardstick that must be used is the dam size that would be most useful on the particular river on which the dam will be built. For example, it would not be too logical to build a small dam on the Euphrates, on which the Ataturk Dam will be built. Another example is the Karakaya Dam which is also being built in that region and which is also a considerably large dam. Smaller dams can be more useful depending on the characteristics of the river considered. For example, we built a dam on Kocacay-Saricay in Canakkale 10 years ago. That was a small dam like you mentioned. But, in any event, a large dam could not be built on such a small river. Consequently, dams are structures whose size is determined by their purpose and the characteristics of the bodies of running water on which they are going to be built.

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CSO: 3554/29

## EXPERTS URGE COMPLETE HALT TO BALTIC SALMON FISHING

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Oct 83 p 12

[Article by Rune B. Axelsson]

[Text] Lulea, 6 Oct--Only forceful political decisions can save the Baltic salmon population, the most overexploited natural resource in northern Europe. This should be based on entirely new socioeconomic basic views of salmon fishing and really good and sincere intentions on the part of all involved. Drastic fishing restrictions are unavoidable.

Those were the main themes in the joint cry for help that more than 100 fish biologists and fishery administrators from six countries agreed on after 3 days of discussions about possible rescue efforts.

The most far-reaching demands came from the chairman of the Finnish-Swedish Border River Commission, presiding judge Irvis Scheynius. He was not averse to imposing a ban for many years on all salmon fishing in the Baltic Sea until the population has regained a comfortable level again.

That is a measure requiring bold political decisions across national boundary lines and no one is seriously counting on it happening.

More cautious in his evaluation was office chief Curt Wendt who is head of the Board of Fisheries office of fish conservation. He felt we should start out by reducing total fishing by 25 percent or somewhat more than the 500 tons that represent Sweden's annual catch today.

Even this proposal should be seen against the background that no state was prepared to make substantial reductions in its old fishing quotas at the talks that bogged down in Warsaw recently.

It can also be viewed against the background that Sweden hatches out 65 percent of the current salmon population but catches only 25 percent.

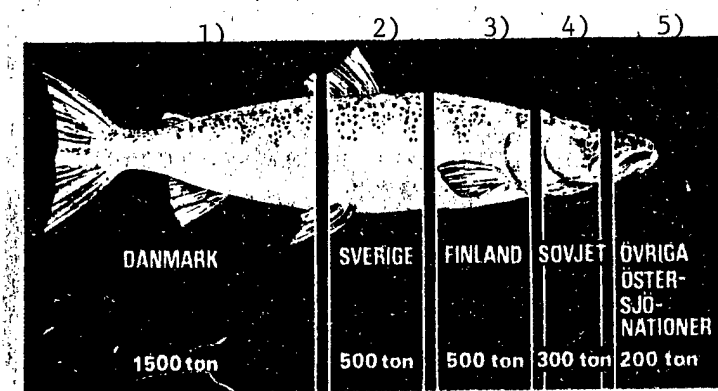
Dr Nils Johansson, who is head of the Salmon Research Institute in Alvkarleby, cited Ume geneticist, Professor Marianne Rasmussen, among others and said the salmon crisis is far more serious than it seems to be.

He pointed out that with the current heavy fishing practices, there is a risk that the natural population will be eradicated and that in the future the entire salmon stock would have to be based on a dubious selection from our hatcheries.

The salmon symposium has shown a red warning flag and politicians must now choose between taking the consequences or avoiding them, the Border River Commission said.

Office chief Curt Wendt put his finger on one of the problems that was in the background during all the days of deliberations. He called attention to the unsolved border issues between the Soviet Union and Sweden in the area east of Gotland. That is one of the most important growth areas for salmon and almost unchecked and destructively intensive fishing is now going on there.

Fisheries inspector Sten Andreasson of Harnosand went one step further. Politicians should totally ignore future fishing possibilities for the time being and instead view the salmon population as a natural resource to be protected and then make a wholehearted commitment to preserve it.



Key:

- |            |                         |
|------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Denmark | 4. Soviet Union         |
| 2. Sweden  | 5. Other Baltic nations |
| 3. Finland |                         |

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CSO: 3650/12

## EFFORTS TO COMBAT POLLUTION OF MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 17 Oct 83 pp 206-213

[Article: "Stinking Puddle--UN Environmental Authority Wants To Help Save the Ecologically Contaminated Mediterranean--No Results Expected for 15 Years"]

[Text] The patient is under observation, said the French LE MONDE, "but it will hardly be possible to come up with a diagnosis for some years, and as for a cure it will be necessary to proceed from scratch--or almost from scratch."

The patient in question is the Mediterranean. The countries bordering on this sea on the southern borders of Europe--with the exception of Albania--agreed in 1979 to save it from ecological disaster.

Since then at least the diagnosis has become clearer, thanks to a center for coordination having been established in Athens by UNEP (UN Environmental Protection Program) for the purpose of the "Mediterranean Action Plan"--an example of international helplessness in light of a situation demanding immediate action. A period of 10 to 15 years are to pass before, at a cost of more than 30 billion deutsche marks, the Mediterranean coast will be more or less clean again, and the waters fairly clear of pollution.

According to Rome's IL MESSAGERO the "mare nostrum" of the ancient Romans has long since become a "stinking puddle." The industries in the countries bordering on the sea, from Turkey to Spain--generally not established until after World War II--annually pour hundreds of billions of tons of garbage into the waters. Mercury and lead, chrome, zinc and radioactive material are but some of the pollutants. (See map).

Mostly untreated, the feces of the 100 million people living on the Mediterranean flow into the sea, and added to them in the main tourist months of the summer is the excrement of yet another 100 million sun-seeking travelers.

Unpleasant masses of jellyfish, occasionally even representing a danger to human life, along the coast are mainly the result of oil tankers rinsing out their tanks on the high seas, for fauna feeding on jellyfish is now either extinct or, like the Caretta turtle, stays away from polluted areas.

Yet, when tourists after taking a swim in the Mediterranean remove lumps of oil from their feet, suffer from fungus or a rash or contract diarrhea after eating mercury-contaminated fish, they are mistaken in the belief that the sea of their dreams is being polluted primarily by oil tankers and the sewage of coastal towns. "The lion's share of the toxic substances," says Athenian UNEP Director Aldo Manos, "comes from regions 300 or 400 kilometers distant from the Mediterranean coast."

Rivers like the Nile, Po, Ebro or Rhone transport huge amounts of industrial waste, feces, fertilizer and pesticides to the Mediterranean sewer. Says Manos: "Whoever wants to save the Mediterranean has to start doing so in the factories of Lyons, the sewers of Milan and the fields of Sudan."

One of the first people to issue a warning, in the early 1970's, was the French deep-sea scientist Jacques Cousteau, who said that unless steps were taken the sea would "turn into a dirty dead sea by the end of the century."

After long preparations and consultations with the governments concerned, UNEP experts drafted the "Mediterranean Action Plan." It was agreed to by 15 of the 18 countries bordering on the Mediterranean at a conference in Barcelona in 1978.

One year later these countries as well as the European Community signed the "Barcelona Convention for Protecting the Mediterranean Against Pollution," according to which the national environmental authorities were to eliminate or restrict the direct inflow of harmful and polluting substances.

Again several years passed until the saviors agreed in the "Athens Protocol" in May 1980 to plug the land sources of pollution--industrial and urban waste as well as fertilizers and pesticides, which were causing 85 percent of the Mediterranean pollution.

Substances such as mercury, cadmium, used lubricating oils and carcinogenic and radioactive materials were put on the blacklist. A "gray list" contained materials whose controlled introduction into the Mediterranean is permitted with certain restrictions, including arsenic, zinc, copper, cobalt, uranium, crude oil and hydrocarbons.

A number of the signatory countries included details of the Athens Protocol in their environmental laws. However, nothing concrete was achieved. There arose a dispute about technologies suitable for keeping the sea clean and about the transitional periods to be granted to the older industrial installations to allow them to adapt to the new environmental regulations.

When the UNEP saviors moved from Geneva to the front last year, TA NEA of Athens announced: "Henceforth the pulse of European anxiety over saving the Mediterranean will be beating in Athens."

Chances are that European anxiety will continue to cause the pulse to heat rapidly, for no one can claim that the Mediterranean plan is already being implemented even in part. The responsibility for doing so is borne by the

individual governments, and they are taking their time. So far only six countries have ratified the Athens Protocol--Algeria, Egypt, France, Monaco, Tunisia and Turkey. Greece, of all countries, which had made special efforts to become the headquarters of the environmental commission which was to do something about the threatened sea, as yet has not managed to ratify the protocol or to make its financial contribution for 1982 and 1983.

The authority of UNEP, in any case, is limited to the drafting of studies and to making recommendations. Its annual budget is 7.2 million dollars. Additional operational centers--besides Athens--in the battle for the Mediterranean are the Antibes in the south of France, Monaco, Malta, Split on the Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia and Tunis.

Phase 1 of the action plan is to create a computer-controlled information and research program supported by preparatory work in 84 laboratories of the participant Mediterranean countries, and 13 pilot projects are to investigate the sources, extent and characteristics of the Mediterranean pollution.

Libya's Qadhdhafi has asked for assistance in drafting a law against oil pollution. Even Albania, which did not sign the Barcelona Convention, has now professed an interest in participating in the big Mediterranean cleanup.

UNEP researchers do not just want to rely on governments, however, but--as the head of the UNEP sea projects, Stjepan Keckes, admits--also figure on "public pressure." Keckes thinks that "the environmental awareness of the population is increasing constantly" and that "the politicians cannot ignore that."

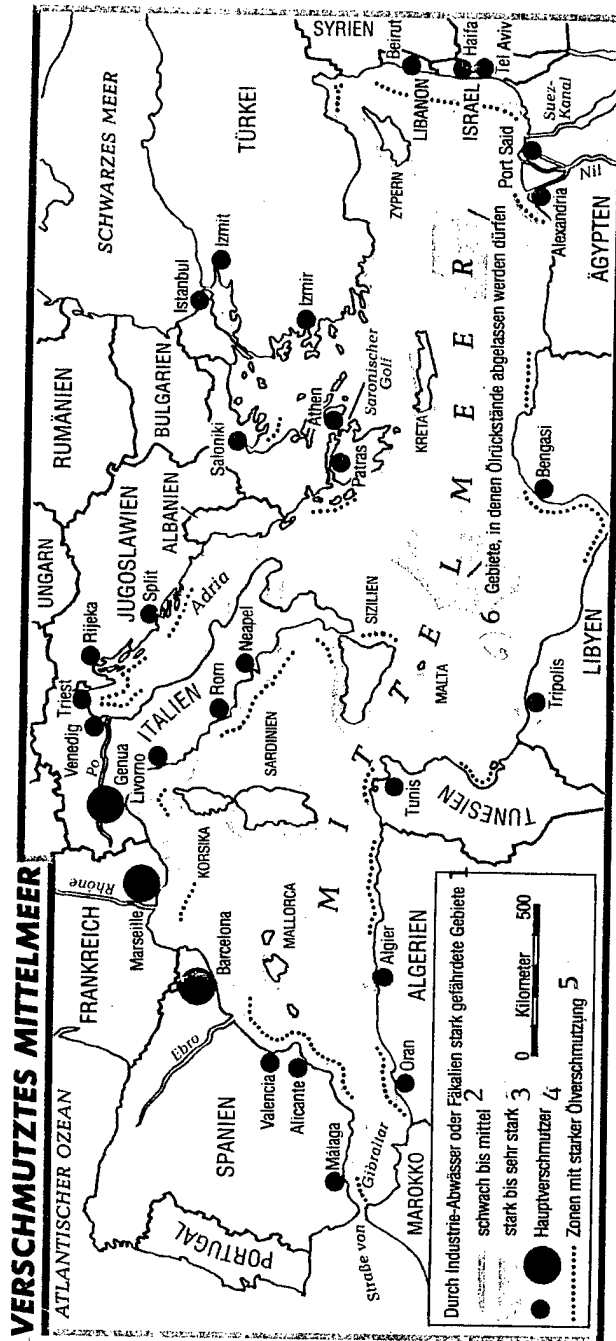
Though at present one is as yet more likely to find Greens and Alternatives among tourists than among the local residents in the Mediterranean area, something does happen from time to time.

In rare agreement with the Greek seamen's labor union, the Greek shipowners association created a "Hellenic Association for the Protection of the Maritime Environment," which has pledged to fight the oil pollution and exercise control over the introduction of oil into the Mediterranean. The founder is shipbuilder tycoon Georgios Livanos, who "as a Greek" considers it intolerable that "since World War II Greek shipbuilders have continually been identified as irresponsible polluters of the sea."

All the activities of UNEP, says Aldo Manos, "will not turn the Mediterranean into a virgin sea overnight." But the head of UNEP is confident that "the initial successes will be apparent in a few years."

To be sure, this does not apply to areas affected particularly seriously, of which there are dozens between Gibraltar and Iskenderun and Venice and Benghazi--such as the Saronic Gulf adjacent to the coastline of Attica, which has to absorb a million tons of waste a day.

Greek marine scientist Alexis Papadopoulos has established that all life is now extinct there within a radius of 20 nautical miles. "Even if the waste were reduced to zero," he says, "it would take at least 100 years for the Saronic Gulf to be rehabilitated."



Key:

1. Areas in great jeopardy as a result of industrial waste or feces
2. Light to medium
3. Heavy to very heavy
4. Main polluters
5. Zones heavily polluted by oil
6. Areas in which oil residues may be released
7. Polluted Mediterranean

## CHLORINE EMISSIONS FROM PULP INDUSTRY POLLUTING WATERS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 29 Sep 83 p 12

[Article by Thomas Michelsen]

[Text] More than every other bullhead caught outside the pulp factory in Husum, Angermanland, had serious damage to the backbone. That is a warning sign. Now scientists suspect that the enormous emissions from the Swedish pulp industry are considerably more hazardous to the environment in the Baltic Sea and the northern part of the Gulf of Bothnia than was previously believed.

There is a connection between white paper and the defective fish. It is chlorine, a dangerous substance used to bleach pulp so that paper will be white. But later on that same chlorine is released by the hundreds of thousands of tons through waste pipes. And it is suspected that once in the water it also damages the backbones of the bullhead fish.

Almost all the chlorine found in nature is manmade. And all chlorine in the environment is undesirable. Chlorine is not just a common denominator between white paper and sick fish. Chlorine is also part of a great many substances known to be hazardous to the environment, such as DDT, PCB, hexachlorbenzene, pentachlorfenol and dibenzofuranes.

It is well-known that these substances have destructive biological effects on a great many animals from seals to ospreys.

#### Disturbing Sign

But much less is known about what happens to the hundreds of thousands of tons of chlorine that pass through the waste pipes of the pulp industry. How much of it goes further into the biological food chains? In what combinations does it occur? What effects does it have?

The Conservation Board is now starting a big research project to study what happens to the chlorine in the Baltic Sea, among other things. They will mainly study how fish close to the emission sites and further out at sea are affected.

It is a disturbing sign that a few years ago chlorinated terpenes were found in organisms in the Baltic Sea. As the name suggests, terpenes are related to turpentine, a product that comes from raw forestry materials. And as we mentioned before, the chlorine comes from the emissions from the pulp industry.

Common for the various forms of organic chlorine compounds is that they affect the hormone balance of living organisms.

#### Obvious Effects

The leader of the project, Associate Professor Anders Sodergren, said that it is known that emissions from the factories have obvious effects on the environment in the immediate vicinity of the discharge. The hypothesis is that there are also effects in more remote areas that are far from the discharge site.

The pulp industry's use of chlorine has increased many times over in recent years. One reason is that the raw materials are being more refined in this country and more of the paper pulp is being sold as bleached pulp. The industry is aware of the problem and some factories use a new bleaching process using oxygen and small amounts of chlorine.

But today the emission from the Swedish side of the Baltic Sea amounts to 200,000 tons of chlorinated organic material a year. Calculated in terms of organic chlorine compounds, this is 15,000 tons of chlorine a year. To this must be added the emissions from the Finnish side of the Baltic.

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## ARSENIC USED FOR IMPREGNATING TELEPHONE POLES NOW IN SOIL

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 29 Sep 83 p 12

[Article by Matts Dahlstrom]

[Text] Dalarna, 28 Sep--The Telecommunications Agency's facility for impregnation with arsenic in Backa, Dalarna, must shut down. This demand was made by the health board in Falun after new sample analyses showed that the soil around the facility contains fatally high concentrations of arsenic.

The Conservation Board's guideline for the highest permissible amount of arsenic is 200 mg per kg of soil. The Backa soil contains as much as 5,350 mg per kg in one place!

Other examples of how much arsenic was found in the soil:

The surface soil under a logpile (stack of poles): 2,100 mg per kg soil.

The surface soil from the farthest end of the pile: 2,425 mg of arsenic per kg of soil. The sample liquid had a strong green tinge.

Gravel from the road in the middle of the impregnation building: 5,350 mg per kg of soil.

In addition to an immediate total ban, the health and environmental protection board is asking that the Telecommunications Agency present a clean-up plan.

"The arsenic-poisoned Backa soil goes well beyond the limits for waste that is hazardous to the environment. Nor is the location of the impregnation plant ideal in view of its proximity to the Sundbornsan watercourse," said chief health official Erland Fernerud from Falun.

Sven Gothlin of the county conservation unit in Falun pointed out that the area cannot be left open to the public before a cleanup has been implemented. If a child ate the soil, for example, it would be exposed to fatal poisoning.

The new arsenic levels from Backa are now as high as those earlier measured at the old Kallviken facility of the Telecommunications Agency, south of Falun.

In the Telecommunications Agency's big arsenic report, consultant Eric Persson maintained that the ground water in Backa would probably show arsenic pollution in the long run.

At this time the Telecommunications Agency has introduced a winter break in impregnation. The agency must now respond to the county government concerning the health and environmental protection board's demands for the immediate cancellation of its permit to operate.

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